THE NEW GUIDE TO DELHI.

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DELHI.

SECOND EDITION.

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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PREFACE.

A FEW words may be said by way of preface. I commenced this book, understanding that the other works on the subject were out of print, and, feeling at the same time that there was much to tell which had been left untold, I determined to devote any spare time I might have to the compilation of a New Guide to Delhi. It can possess but slight claims to literary merit, being, as it is, composed principally of extracts from the writings of able and scientific authors, as General Cunningham, Archæological Surveyor of India; Mr. Cooper, C. B., Commissioner, Lahore, whose work on Delhi has just been reprinted; Mr. Beresford, who wrote a guide to Delhi some ten years ago, &c., &c. Acknowledgment has always been made when anything from the abovewritten works has been inserted.

It may be remarked that what I have entered in the historical portion sometimes appears again in the description of buildings elsewhere, but I have adopted this plan purposely, for there are those who may never care to look at the history, and yet would like to know the facts regarding the tomb or building of which they are reading, so that if I have erred, it is for the convenience of the reader.

Many who visit the wonderful remains of ancient grandeur scattered round the city of the Great Mogul, may be inclined to think, as others have already thought, that the traces we should leave in India, if we were to quit the country, would be as naught to these stately monuments of a more ancient *régime*. To all such cavillers, I would answer in the words of De Quincey :—" Another argument against England " urged by the English people at this time was that " she, in no eminent sense, has been a benefactor to " India, or expressing it in words of later date, the " only memorials of our rule, supposing us suddenly " ejected from India, would be vast heaps of cham- " pagne bottles. I, on the other hand, allege that " our benefits, like all true and lasting benefits (reli- " gious benefits for instance,) must not be sought in " external memorials of stone and masonry. Higher " by far than the Mogul gift of lime-stone or travel- " ling stations, or even roads and tanks, were the gift " of security, of peace, of law and settled order." What the great essayist states with regard to the benefits of the British rule may be verified by any one who chooses to impartially look around him. If a hundred years of law and order, of justice to the oppressed, of freedom to the subject, and of liberty of action and of speech to the people that we govern, confers any right of reigning on the holders of power, then, true it is, we have that right.

A. H.

Visitors to Delhi may find it convenient to visit the different places of interest as below :—

1*st day.*—The Jumma Musjid.

The Fort, including the Dewan A'am, the Dewan Khass, the King's Bath and Pearl Mosque (*Note.*—Drive to the Dewan Khass, the guide there will show all that is to be seen—a trifle may be given to him, say 4 annas) ; the Kalan Musjid near the Turcoman Gate of the City, but this is only interesting to antiquarians.

2*nd day.*—Drive out by the Delhi Gate of the City, and *en passant* look at Feroz Shah's Lât or Stone Pillar, and the views of the City of Firozabad, just outside the gate to the left of the road ; go on to Humayon's Tomb, and while there visit Nizam-oodeen's Tomb (a fee of 4 annas for each person is generally given), the Chousut Kumba, and the other ruined Mosques, &c., adjacent. On way back leave the carriage outside the Fort of Purana Keela, and walk (about half a mile) to Shir Shah's Mosque, which is well worth seeing.

3*rd day.*—Drive towards the Kootub, passing the ruins of the Junter Munter or Observatory on the left, and Sufter Jung's Mausoleum on the right, both well worth seeing. The various Tombs and Galleries at the Kootub will employ the rest of the day. In the evening walk round the top of the wall of Lalkot Fort to the left of the Minar ; ladies could hardly manage this, as the pathway is composed, on the West and most interesting and best preserved side, of large loose stones : sleep at the Kootub Dâk Bungalow,

4th day.—Go to Mausoleum of Sooltan Gari; the chuprassie of the Bungalow can give every information. In the evening drive to Toogluckabad, three miles from Kootub, visit the ruined city, and the Tomb of Toogluck Shah, return to Kootub, and next morning come back to Delhi.

These are merely rough hints for those who have not time to see much, but should the visitor to Delhi have leisure, he could spend seven or eight days in rambling over the various buildings and antiquities.

CONTENTS.

THE NEW GUIDE TO DELHI.

PART I.

1. *Delhi with an account of the Changes of Capitals from the various old Cities.*
2. *The Siege of Delhi in* 1857.
3. *Delhi as it is.*

I.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHANGES OF CAPITALS FROM THE VARIOUS OLD CITIES.

The ruins that surround Modern Delhi, or Shahjehanabad, "extend from the South end of the present city, to the "deserted Forts of Rae Pitthora and Toogluckabad, a distance of ten miles; the breadth at the Northern end, opposite Firoz Shah's Kotla, is about three miles; and at the "Southern end, from the Kootab Minar to Toogluckabad, is "rather more than six miles; the whole area covered with "ruins being not less than forty-five square miles."—(*General Cunningham.*) According to a popular and well known tradition, Dilli, or Dhili, was built by Rajah Dilu, or Dhilu: the date, however, is uncertain: it would probably be about 57 B. C. The city was not resided in by the sovereigns of the reigning dynasty for over 790 years, except at intervals; but it seems to have been occupied by Rajah Dhava, who erected the iron pillar which stands in the square at the Kootub, about the year 319 A. D. The ancient city of Dilli may be considered to have occupied almost the same site as

the Fort of Rae Pitthora. With the exception of the iron pillar there are no traces left of this old city. The pillars at the Kootub are certainly Hindoo, but General Cunningham,* the Archæological Surveyor of India, considers there are none of these older than the 10th century A. D.

Dilli was apparently re-built by Anang Pal I., the first sovereign of the Tomara dynasty, but is supposed not to have been the metropolis of the Kings of Upper India, as the later Rajahs of the Tomara family seem to have resided at Kanouj. The year 736 A. D. saw the commencement of the Tomara or Toar dynasty of Dilli, which terminated in the 19th Sovereign (who is variously termed Akr Pal Akhsal, Mokund Pala, or Ane Pala,) in the year 1130 A. D. From A. D. 1130 to A. D. 1151 there is a blank. Anang Pal II., the successor of Kumara Pala, established himself in Dilli in A. D. 1052, and built the Fort of Lalkot, (to the left of the Kootub Minar,) which was probably finished in A. D. 1060. Anang Pal's name is mentioned in one of the inscriptions on the iron pillar. The Chohan dynasty commenced in A. D. 1152, and continued about forty years.

The last Hindoo sovereign was Rajah Pitthora, or, as he is otherwise termed, the Prithvi Rajah. General Cunningham reports:—" The only work which is attributed to Rajah " Pitthora, is the extensive fort to the North and East of " Anang Pal's Lalkot, which is still called Killah Rae Pit- " thora. From the North-west angle of Lalkot the lines of " Rae Pitthora's walls can still be distinctly traced running " towards the North for about half a mile. From this point " they turn to the South of East for one and a half miles, " then to the South for one mile, and lastly, to the West " and North-west for three-quarters of a mile, where they " join the South-west angle of Lalkot, which, being situated " on higher ground, forms a lofty citadel that completely com- " mands the Fort of Rae Pitthora. The entire circuit of the

"walls of the two forts, is four miles and three furlongs, "or rather more than half the size of the modern city of "Shahjehanabad."

We thus find that Rajah Dhava was in possession of the site of Rae Pitthora's Fort (that is, the ground around the Kootub) in probably 57 B. C. Passing through various hands, Dilli was re-built by Rajah Anang Pal I., but Anang Pal II. seems to have been the only sovereign of that period who resided in it. The Lalkot was finished by Anang Pal II. in A. D. 1060, and no further additions took place till the reign of the last Hindoo sovereign, who, to protect the town under the Fort of Lalkot, built Killah Rae Pitthora, the walls of which are here and there still visible. In A. D. 1193, Shahab-oodeen Altomsh defeated Rajah Pitthora and took his stronghold. The Mahomedan conquerors probably continued in Killah Rae Pitthora and the Lalkot adjoining, adding to the works where necessary.

Sultan Ala-oodeen founded the city of Siri to the North-east of the Kootub, as it were an off-shoot of the old Dilli. In *this* reign the Moguls under Turghai Khan invaded India in A. D. 1303, and advanced on Ala-oodeen. The latter intrenched himself apparently at Siri (now Shahpore,) and on the sudden retreat of the Moguls, caused a palace to be built on the spot where his camp had been. "On this side," says General Cunningham, "the suburbs of the old Dilli extended "for a considerable distance. We know also that they were "without walls, because the Moguls plundered them during "their stay, and because they were afterwards enclosed by "Mahomed Toogluck, when they received the separate name "of Jehan Punnah. Immediately in front of these suburbs "and facing towards the enemy, is the old ruined Fort of "Shahpore, and inside the West half of this fort there still "exist the remains of a very extensive palace. This palace "I believe to be the celebrated Kasr-Hazar Situn, or Palace

" of the Thousand Pillars, which Ala-oodeen built on the " spot where he had intrenched himself. This palace was " called Hazar Minar, or Thousand Minarets." — " Siri," adds General Cunningham, " cannot be identified with the " citadel that surrounds the Kootub Minar, for the walls of " Siri were pulled down and the material removed by Shir " Shah (between A. D. 1540 and 1545), while the walls " of the Kootub Minar citadel are still standing. And, fur- " ther, it seems almost certain that Shahpore must be Siri, " because of its vicinity to the new site of Shir Shah's " fort, for it is hardly possible to believe that the King " would have brought his building stones from the Kootub " Minar, a distance of seven miles, when he could have " obtained them from Shahpore, which is only half the dis- " tance. That he did obtain his materials from the latter " place, and not from the former, may be regarded as almost " certain, for the very sufficient reason that the walls of " Shahpore have actually been removed, while those of the " Kootub citadel are still standing."—" The next city built " was Toogluckabad, a half hexagon in shape, with three " faces of rather more than three-quarters of a mile in length " each, and a base of one mile and a half, the whole circuit " being only one furlong less than four miles." It was commenced in A. D. 1321, and finished in A. D. 1325, during the reign of Toogluck Shah. " His son, Mahomed Toogluck " Shah, fortified the extensive suburbs of Old Delhi, lying " between the Hindoo fort of Rae Pitthora and the Mus- " sulman citadel of Siri. These suburbs had been plundered " in the early part of the siege of Ala-oodeen, and their " unprotected state fully justified the vast outlay which the " King must have incurred upon their defence. The North- " west wall is one mile and three-quarters in length, and " the South wall is two miles, the whole length of the walls " being just five miles, or somewhat more than the circuit

"of the Fort of Rae Pitthora. A considerable portion of "the South wall still exists, but the East and North-west "walls have been pulled down, and are now only traceable "by their ruins. Sharif-oodeen states that Jehan Punnah "had thirteen gates, six being to the North-west and seven "to the South-west."—*(General Cunningham.)*

The city of Adilahbad, opposite Toogluckabad, was also commenced by Mahomed Toogluck, but very few traces of it are now to be seen.

The seven forts of Old Delhi are given as below by General Cunningham :—

1.	Lalkot, built by Anang Pal II. about	A. D.	1052.
2.	Killah Rae Pitthora, built by Rae Pitthora	,,	1180.
3.	Siri, or Killah Alai, built by Ala-oodeen	,,	1304.
4.	Toogluckabad, built by Toogluck Shah	,,	1321.
5.	Citadel of ditto, built by Toogluck Shah	,,	1321.
6.	Adilahbad, built by Mahomed Toogluck	,,	1325.
7.	Jehan Punnah, built by Mahomed Toogluck	,,	1325.

The next city of importance was Firozabad, commenced by Firoz Toogluck Shah in A. D. 1354. "It extended from "the Fort of Indraput to the Kooshak Shikar, or Hunting "Palace, a length of five coss. The Kooshak Shikar seems "to have been on the low range of hills to the North-west "of the Modern Delhi. But the exact position is absolutely "determined by the mention, that the second stone pillar "from Meerut was erected within the precincts of the palace, "as the stone pillar is now lying in five pieces on the top "of the hill close to Hindoo Rao's house."*—*(General "Cunningham.)*

The whole distance from Indraput to the top of the ridge by Hindoo Rao's house, is said to have been filled up with

* Any one driving by Hindoo Rao's house will see it just outside the entrance.

mosques, houses, gardens, &c., but as this includes the whole of Modern Delhi, it is probable that all this space was not occupied. "It is certain, however, that some considerable "portion of the site of Shahjehanabad *(or Delhi)* was well "populated, as the Kala Musjid, which was built in Firoz "Shah's reign, (and which was inside Firozabad,) is situ- "ated at some distance within the Turkoman Gate of the "present city."—*(General Cunningham.)*

Gheias-oodeen Bulbun, between A. D. 1266 and A. D. 1286, appears to have largely built, and the celebrated Ruby Palace is alleged to have been constructed by him. Keikobad who succeeded, and who only reigned two years, resided in the city, which was on the site of the present village of Kelokeree; but it is a matter of doubt as to whether the cities resided in by these two sovereigns were other than off-shoots of the imperial city. General Cunningham, the greatest authority on these matters in India, says nothing in his writings of any cities founded in their reigns.

Firozabad began to decline about A. D. 1416, some sixty years after it was founded.

Mobarikabad was built in A. D. 1435, in the rule of Seiad Mahomed.

Sekundur Lodi, who reigned from A. D. 1488 to A. D. 1516, seems to have lived entirely at Agra, but in the reign of Shir Shah, the city bearing his name was enclosed and fortified. Delhi Shir Shah extended from where Humayon's Tomb now is, to the stone pillar of Firoz Shah, (just outside the Delhi Gate of the present city,) and the South Gate of his city was between the Mausoleum of Humayon and the eleven-arched bridge beyond it. The circumference of Delhi Shir Shah was about twice as great as that of Modern Delhi. Shir Shah only reigned from A. D. 1540 to A. D. 1545, and it is supposed the walls were completed before his death. Selim

Shah, his successor, built the Fort of Selim Ghur, which is just without the Calcutta Gate of the Delhi of our day.

The Emperor Humayon, in A. D. 1533, repaired or built the Fort of Indraput or Deen Punnah: according to General Cunningham, he built it,—as there is not a trace of the old tombs to be seen on the spot,—and made this his principal residence. His son, the great Akber, resided principally in Agra, as apparently did Jehangire, who succeeded him.

The present Delhi, or properly speaking Shahjehanabad, was built by Shah Jehan, who commenced it in A. D. 1648, and beyond a few alterations and repairs to the battlements and glacis, the city is much the same now, externally, as it was in the days of the Great Mogul.

It may not be out of place here to take a rapid glance at some of the vicissitudes of this famous capital of the Mahomedan sovereigns of India.

Timour or Tamerlane, in A. D. 1398, defeated Mahomed Toogluck, and for five days the city was given up to plunder and the inhabitants to slaughter. The city referred to was the Firozabad of Firoz Shah, commenced in A. D. 1354.

The present city, built by Shah Jehan, was entered by the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah in A. D. 1739, when the Emperor Mahomed Shah, after having been defeated, was led back by the conqueror to his capital. A report arose that Nadir Shah had been killed, and the people rose on the Persian guard. The Indian nobles gave over to be murdered the Persian soldiers placed over their houses, to prevent any exaction from the troops of the invading army, but notwithstanding these outrages, Nadir Shah endeavored to still the tumult. At last he was wounded, and one of his chiefs was slain by his side, upon which he gave the order for a general massacre, he sitting at the Dureeba Gate, inside the city, to see how his orders were carried out, and from morning till night the wholesale slaughter continued. The Emperor, it

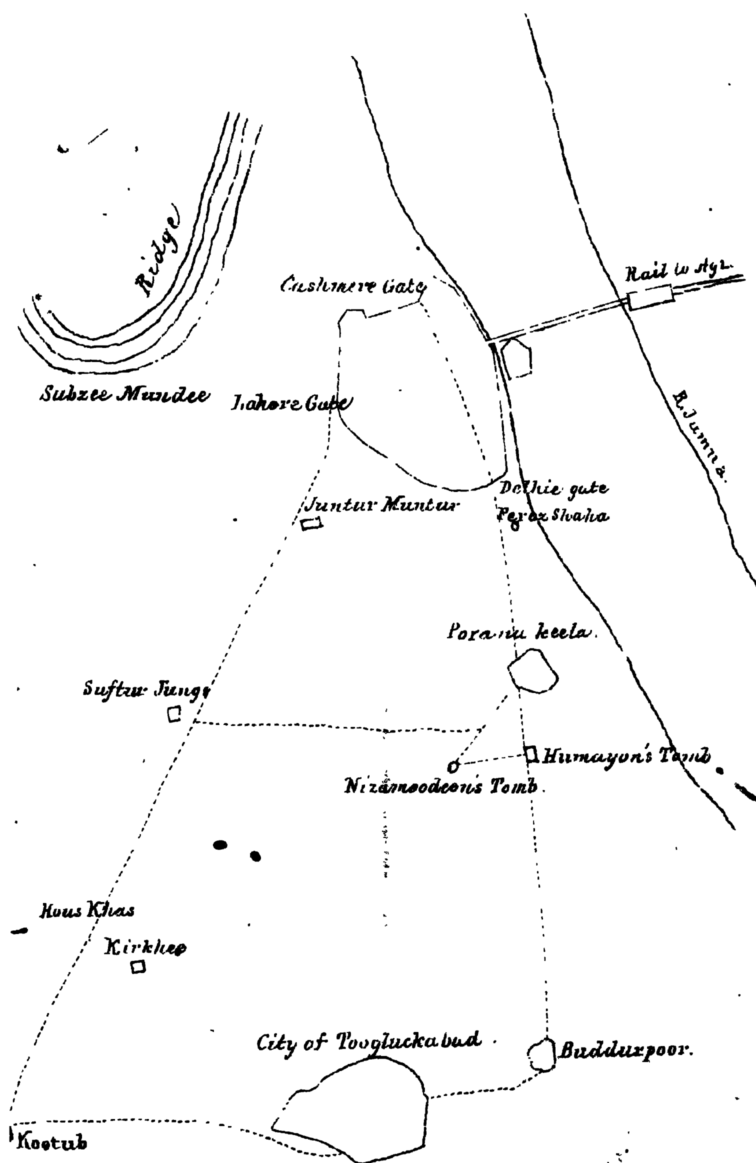
is said, with tears in his eyes, entreated Nadir Shah to give orders for the cessation of the massacre, and that order being given,—such being the discipline of the Persian army,—was immediately obeyed. It was on this occasion that all the wealth accumulated by the great Mogul Emperors, Akber, Jehangire, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzib, was lost to Hindoostan. The Peacock Throne of Shah Jehan, worth six millions of pounds, together with jewels of countless price, and gold and silver of an almost incalculable value, were carried off; the extortions of the Persians were carried out on high and low, and torture was not spared to induce the sufferers to reveal where their wealth lay. The empire never recovered from this disastrous invasion.

In A. D. 1756 Ahmed Shah Dourani defeated the Emperor Alumgire II., and again the dreadful scenes of the Persian invasion were re-enacted, the city being given over to the troops.

In A. D. 1758, Ragoba (the Mahratta,) the Peishwa's brother, besieged Delhi, which fell after one month's siege. In A. D. 1759, the Mahrattas, under Sedasheo Bhao, took Delhi after a short defence, and on this occasion the palaces, tombs, and shrines were defaced; all that had been left by former conquerors was carried off; and the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience, spared till then, was melted down and coined into £170,000.

In A. D. 1803, the English army defeated M. Louis Bourquien and occupied the city, and in A. D. 1804, Holkar attacked the place; but the Resident, Colonel Ochterlony, held him at bay till the English reinforcements came up, when he raised the siege and retired again to his own province.

The final siege of Delhi may be said to have concluded on the 19th of September 1857, when the city was cleared of the mutinous soldiery of the Bengal Army, by a series of brilliant and dashing attacks on the part of the British. Of that siege and attack a short account will now be given.


Ridge
Subzee Mundee
Cashmere Gate
Lahore Gate
Rail to Agra
R. Jumna
Delhie gate
Feroz Shaha
Juntur Muntur
Porana keela
Suftur Jung
Humayon's Tomb
Nizamoodeens Tomb
Hous Khas
Kirkhee
City of Toogluckabud
Budduxpoor
Kootub

SKETCH MAP

II.—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF DELHI.

Of the Mutiny of the Native Troops of the Bengal Army, it is not necessary here to enlarge; suffice it to say that, on the 11th of May 1857, the mutinous regiments from Meerut swarmed into the city of Delhi, their comrades in Delhi Cantonments at once joining them. The European residents, who could escape, fled to different places of safety, but a great number were ruthlessly massacred. The puppet sovereign of Delhi at that period was Bahadur Shah; he was supported by the British Government in his visionary kingdom, though, except within the walls of his palace, he was an Emperor but in name. Whether he, or those who acted in his name, were the leading movers in the Rebellion, can matter little; he identified himself with the cause of the rebellious soldiery, and, at any rate, tacitly consented to the deeds of horror that were enacted under his palace windows.

The British Forces, under the command of General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, after collecting a siege train, moved towards Delhi. General Anson dying, was succeeded by General Bernard, who again on his death, was succeeded by Brigadier-General Archidale Wilson, who commanded the besieging army till after the city was captured. To call the force outside the walls a besieging one, is a misnomer; at the time of the actual attack, it was not 7,000 strong, whereas the native soldiery within Delhi numbered over 60,000 men.

It is not necessary here to follow the different operations of the contending forces. For the general reader, it will suffice if the final position of the British Army and the arrangements for the attack are detailed.

A heavy Battery, termed No. 2 Battery, was placed in front of Ludlow castle (the Commissioner's residence outside the Cashmere Gate). It consisted of two 18-pounders and nine 24-pounders and seven 8-inch howitzers. The Cashmere

Bastion was the object of their fire, and the dreadful state of ruin which it now (eight years after the siege) lies in, attests the accuracy of the fire of the British guns. The main breack was made at the Cashmere Gate.

On the top of the ridge stands Hindoo Rao's house, which was the main picket of the—if it must be so called—besieging force, and close by is a much injured domed building, which was also used as picket.*

On the extreme right of the ridge, which is considerably higher than the city, some 1,200 yards from the walls, is the site of what was once the Right Battery under command of Captain Fagan. The well-known Sammy House, a small temple below this, was the chosen battle-ground on several occasions, where there was a picket of the besiegers ; and so closely was the attacking force sometimes pressed, that this advanced picket often could not be relieved for days.

The Subzee Mundee and Roshunara Gardens were on the right flank of the British, on the left lay the Jumna and broken ground, while the rear was protected by the force of the Rajah of Puttiala, who, in those trying times, came gallantly to the assistance of the English Government.

A Battery of six 4-pounders and two 24-pounders under Remington, had been placed under Hindoo Rao's house, so as to play on the Moree Bastion ; and another Battery, within 700 yards of the walls, was planted in advance of this—six guns directed against the Moree Bastion, and four against the Cashmere Bastion. The Batteries in this position were under command of Major Brind.† It was after this that Ludlow Castle fell into the hands of the British.

In the Koodsiah Bagh a Mortar Battery of ten pieces was

* It may be here mentioned that the Flag-staff Tower on the ridge was where the European residents, on the 11th of May 1857, took refuge before fleeing from the place.

† Now Brigadier-General Brind, Inspector General of Artillery.

planted under Major Tombs :* another Battery was also established at the Custom House under Major Scott. "Brind's "Battery to the right had been at work ever since the morn- "ing of the 8th of September, pounding away on the Moree "Bastion, and dropping long shots into the Cashmere gate- "way ; two days after the Ludlow Castle Batteries opened ; "the next morning the Koodsiah Bagh Battery was un- "masked, and with that of the Custom House took up the "game, and now some fifty pieces of artillery were in full "play on the doomed city. Day and night the pounding "went on. The Moree Bastion was soon silenced, and the "line of parapet which sheltered the sharp-shooters between "it and the Cashmere Bastion, was fast disappearing. The "Cashmere Bastion itself was silenced in ten minutes after "the Ludlow Batteries had opened on it, and the massy stone- "work, only a few months before restored and strengthened "by the English Government for the protection or beautifica- "tion of the City of the Mogul, soon began to crumble away "under the play of English 24-pounders. The Water Bas- "tion fared almost worse; the fire from the heavy guns at "the Custom House at 160 yards' range, played with fearful "effect; the guns were dismounted and smashed, and the "breach opened, while, under the play of Tombs's mortars, "the curtain between was literally stripped."—*(Cooper.)*

The Koodsiah Bagh Battery, though enfiladed from Kissengunge, opened as above stated with terrible effect on the Water Bastion, and that part of the wall exactly facing the Koodsiah Garden even yet gives evidence how dreadfully severe the cannonading must have been. The losses of the British from the enfilading fire of the enemy, were fearful; but the assault was no longer to be delayed, and on the night of the 13th of September came the order for the attack on the ensuing day.

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* Major-General Tombs, Commanding Gwalior Division.

The attacking force was divided into four columns, with a reserve. "The first to storm the breach at the Cashmere "Bastion, the second that in the Water Bastion, the third "to blow open the Cashmere Gate, and the fourth on the "extreme right, to clear Kissengunge and enter by the "Lahore Gate, while the reserve was to follow up in the "wake of the first three columns and throw in supports "where necessary."—(*Cooper.*)

1st Column under General Nicholson.

300 men of H. M.'s 75th Regiment under Lieut.-Colonel Herbert.	Lieut. Lang,
250 men of 1st E. B. Fusiliers under Major Jacob.	,, Medley, and ,, Bingham
450 men of 2nd Punjab Infantry under Major Green.	of the Engineers, attached.

2nd Column under Colonel Jones, H. M.'s 61st.

250 men of H. M.'s 8th Regiment under Lieut.-Colonel Greathed.	Lieut. Greathed,
250 men of the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers under Captain Boyd.	,, Hovenden, & Pemberton,
350 men of 4th Sikh Infantry under Captain Rothney.	as Engineers.

3rd Column under Colonel Campbell, H. M.'s 52nd L. I.

250 men of H. M.'s 52nd L. I. under Major Vigors.	Lieut. Home,
500 men of 1st Punjab Infantry under Lieutenant Nicholson.	,, Salkeld, and ,, Tendy,
250 men of Kumaon Battalion under Captain Ramsay.	of the Engineers.

4th Column under Major Reid.

50	men of the	60th Rifles.	Lieut. Maunsell and
160	ditto	1st E. B. Fusiliers.	,, Tenant,
200	ditto	Sirmoor Battalion.	of the Engineers.
200	ditto	The Guides.	
80	ditto	61st Regiment.	
65	ditto	Kumaon Battalion.	
25	Coke's Rifles with the Cashmere Contingent.		

Reserve Column under Brigadier Longfield.

250 men of H. M.'s 61st under Lieut.-Colonel Deacon. 200 men of Belooch Battalion under Lieut.-Colonel Farquhar. 550 men of 4th Punjab Infantry under Captain Wilde. 200 men of Jheend Force under Colonel Dunsford.	Lieut. Ward and " Thackeray, of the Engineers.

In advance of all, under cover of the trees that lined the road, and concealed in the brush-wood which stretched up within musket-shot of the walls, the "gallant 60th Rifles, "under Colonel J. Jones, spread themselves along, ready to "sweep the parapets, keep down the fire of the rebels, and "cover the advance of the columns."—(*Cooper*).

By 3 A. M. on the 14th of September, the columns had fallen in at Ludlow Castle, the place of rendezvous. The enemy had, however, in the night filled up the breaches with sand-bags, and the columns had to wait till the fire from the guns could once more clear the way. The day now broke and the attacking force could be distinctly seen by the enemy. The troops lay down under shelter, and the advance of the Rifles to the front, with a cheer, was to be the signal for the cessation of the fire from the batteries and the assault of the columns. Mr. Cooper's vivid description of what ensued is annexed :—

"At the head of the Third Column stood the gallant "exploding party, consisting of Lieuts. Salkeld and Home, of "the Engineers; Serjeants Carmichael, Burgess and Smith, "of the Bengal Sappers; Bugler Hawthorne, of the 52nd "L. I., (who accompanied the party to sound the advance "when the gate was blown in,) and eight native Sappers "under Havildar Mahdoo, to carry the bags of powder. At "the edge of the cover the powder bags had been transferred "to the European soldiers. Here stood this heroic little "band, forming a forlorn hope, feeling themselves doomed to

"almost certain death, waiting in almost agonizing suspense "for the appointed signal. It came, the firing suddenly "ceased, the cheer of the Rifles rang through the air, out "moved Home with four soldiers, each carrying a bag of "powder on his head, close behind him came Salkeld port-"fire in hand with four more soldiers similarly laden; while "a short distance behind the storming party, 150 strong—"50 men of Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, 50 of the "Kumaon Battalion, and 50 of the 1st Punjab Infantry, "under Captain Bailey, of Her Majesty's 52nd—followed up "by the main body of the column in rear. The gateway, as "in all native cities, was on the side of the Bastion, and had "an outer gateway in advance of the ditch. Home and his "party were at this outer gate almost before their appearance "was known. It was open, but the drawbridge so shattered "that it was very difficult to cross; however, they got over, "reached the main gate, and laid their bags unharmed."

Lieut. Medley's narrative of the siege is now taken up:—"So utterly paralyzed were the enemy of the audacity of the "proceeding, that they only fired a few straggling shots, and "made haste to close the wicket with every appearance of "alarm, so that Lieut. Home, after laying his bags, jumped "into the ditch unhurt. It was now Salkeld's turn. He "also advanced with four other bags of powder and a lighted "port-fire, but the enemy had now recovered from their "consternation, and had seen the smallness of the party and "the object of their approach. A deadly fire was poured upon "the little band from the open wicket not ten feet distant. "Salkeld laid his bags, but was shot through the arm and "leg, and fell back on the bridge, handing the port-fire to "Serjeant Burgess, bidding him light the fusee. Burgess was "instantly shot dead in the attempt. Serjeant Carmichael "then advanced, took up the port-fire and succeeded in the "attempt, but immediately fell mortally wounded. Serjeant

" Smith, seeing him fall, advanced at a run, but finding that " the fusee was already burning, threw himself down into the " ditch where the bugler had already conveyed poor Salkeld. " In another moment a terrific explosion shattered the mas- " sive gate, the bugle sounded the advance, and then with a " loud cheer the storming party was in the gateway, and in " a few minutes more the column,—and the Cashmere Gate " and Main Guard were once more in our hands."

Those who drive through this Cashmere Gateway in these piping times of peace, may well remember the bravery of these gallant men. It was an advance to almost certain death, for the crowd of mutinous soldiery on the battlements could hardly fail to kill if they fired. All the survivors were recommended for the Victoria Cross, but Salkeld died shortly after from his wounds, and Lieut. Home met his death accidentally while blowing up the Fort of

The First Column, commanded by General Nicholson, broke into the breach at the Cashmere Bastion headed by their leader, and, notwithstanding the galling fire kept up from the Church and Kutcherry, steadily advanced, clearing the ground before them, and re-forming again at the Main Guard.

The Second Column carried the breach at the Water Bastion in splendid style, though nearly all the escalading ladders were broken before they could be put against the wall. The Kutcherry and Church were cleared, and Nichelson, re-forming his men, entered the narrow lane behind the walls of the city, and soon the enemy were swept from the walls up to the Cabul Gate. This success was rapidly followed up, and the column was approaching the Lahore Gate, when a gun suddenly opened on our ranks from the Burn Bastion, and another gun was found planted behind a breast-work in the lane. This was withdrawn, but was not captured; a temporary check was here experienced, the enemy seized the opportunity

to rally in great force, and by the time General Nicholson rode up, the adjacent houses were fully occupied by the crowds of sepoys, who, secure in their position, fired on the mass below. Just at this time two heavy field-pieces were also run out, and made a further advance impossible till they were captured. Nicholson promptly ordered an attack to be made; the 1st Bengal Fusiliers (now Her Majesty's 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers) advanced with a rush, and wrested one of the guns from the enemy. The terrible fire from the adjacent houses was meanwhile kept up, and packed as the British Troops were in the narrow lane, they suffered terribly. The second gun was not captured. Nicholson* waved his sword and led his men on, when, alas! a rebel bullet struck him in the chest, and this admirable soldier, and still more admirable man, was carried off mortally wounded to the rear, and the column fell back to the Cabul Gate.

Colonel Campbell, with the Third Column, after clearing the Church and Kutcherry and adjacent buildings, pushed on into the Chandnee Chouk, swarming through what are now the Queen's Gardens; the Punjab Rifles being left to keep the rear open. The advance of the column was, however, at length checked in a narrow lane not a hundred yards from the Jumma Musjid, where the Gate of the Dureeba was found bricked up. The heavy fire of the enemy compelled the column to retreat, more particularly so as there were no

* John Nicholson's life has yet to be written. He was a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab Civil Commission, when he was suddenly called upon o assume a high Military Command in the attacking force. As a Civil Officer his reputation was of the very highest; he was in every place where he could be of the least possible assistance, and he effectually supervised every official in his district. This extraordinary man had more influence with his subordinates than perhaps any Englishman in the East has ever had. One class of natives actually worshipped him, and termed themselves "The Nicholsanee Faqueers." A native speaking of him said,—"The sound of his horse's hoofs were heard from Attock to the Khyber." In an official report of the Punjab Government, this sentence occurs—"Nature makes but few such men, and the Punjab is happy to have had one." The present Governor-General, in referring to this heroic character, has used these words:—

"His sterner qualities and his high sense of duty are generally known, not so "perhaps his remarkable deliberation, which with him preceded the infliction of "punishment." At the time of his death he was but 35 years of age.

engineers at hand to blow the gate open, for two had been killed, one wounded, and not a single field-piece had been or could be brought over the broken drawbridges; and seeing that nothing could be done, the order was given to retire upon the Church. In the meanwhile Major Ramsay, with some men of the Ghoorka Battalion, and about 100 of the 52nd L. I., had made a desperate effort to push up towards the Kotwalee; they managed to effect a lodgment, and retained possession for some hours, but being unsupported, they had to re-join Colonel Campbell at the Church. Major Wilde,* with his 4th Punjabees, had steadily advanced behind Campbell's column, and eventually succeeded in carrying the Government College † without much loss.

It is not within the limits of this work to enter on a lengthened account of the attack and capture of the city. The description above is a good deal summarized from the account given in Lieut. Medley's work, as quoted by Mr. Cooper in his *Hand-Book for Delhi*. It was reported that on the 14th September 1857, 66 officers and 1,104 men were counted among the killed and wounded, which says more than anything else for the severity of the fighting. On the 16th September, the Magazine was stormed by H. M.'s 61st Regiment, Wilde's Punjabees, and the Beloochees, the whole under Colonel Deacon, of the 61st; on the 17th, the Delhi Bank House was carried; on the 18th, the line of communication between the Magazine and the Cabul Gate was completed; and on the 19th, the Burn Bastion was taken possession of by a surprise.

The city was now in the hands of the attacking force; the defeated rebels fled in every direction, and the British flag once more waved over the walls of the capital of Northern

* Now Brigadier-General Wilde, C.B., Commanding Punjab Frontier Force.

† This is the building with the lofty-pillared verandah to the left of the road near the Magazine, leading from the Cashmere Gate to the Magazine.

India. The glories of the House of Timour now no longer exist; the last phantom monarch of that race, sent into exile, expiated his crimes by a life-long banishment from the scenes of his evil deeds; and no descendant of the great Akber, the politic Shah Jehan, or the dissimulating Aurungzib, can ever again hold in his hands even that nominal sovereignty which Bahadur Shah parted with when he traitorously broke faith with the British Power.

A Memorial Monument commemorates the Capture of Delhi. The besieging army subscribed one day's pay towards its erection; but this sum, though amounting to nearly twenty thousand Rupees, falling far short of the Estimates, the building was taken in hands by the Government, and completed at a cost of twenty-one thousand four hundred Rupees.

It is built on the ridge, on the site of the Right Battery, and being 110 feet high, is visible from every point. Though not bold and commanding, it is of elegant and chaste design. The view from the top of the winding stair-case on the inside, is beautiful, and will repay a visit, to say nothing of the associations that will be called up.

III.—DELHI AS IT IS.

The City of Delhi, as it at present stands, was built in the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan, who ruled from A. D. 1637 to A. D. 1658, and was commenced in A. D. 1648: the palace is ten years older. The circuit of the walls of the City is five and a half miles: of the Citadel and Palace one and a half miles. The latter has two entrances called, respectively, the Lahore and the Delhi Gates.

The City is supplied with Ten, as below:—

1.—The Calcutta Gate to the N. E. close to the Palace: this leads to the Railway.

2.—The Cashmere Gate to the N., by the Church and Kutcherry.

3.—The Moree Gate to the N.

4.—The Cabul Gate to the W., facing the Sudder Bazaar.

5.—The Lahore Gate to the W., facing the Sudder Bazaar, and is the exit from the Chandnee Chouk.

6.—The Farash Khana Gate to the S. W.

7.—The Ajmere Gate to the S. W.

8.—The Turkoman Gate to the S.

9.—The Delhi Gate to the S.

10.—Raj Ghat to the E., facing the River.

The Cashmere and Moree Gates are those principally used by the European residents. The glacis around the walls, it may be remarked here, was formed by the British Government.

The different buildings of special interest will be treated of hereafter in their appropriate places, but for the convenience of visitors, the positions of the Hotels, Law Courts, Churches, Post Office, and best Shops are given below:—

The Church,—St. James's—close to the Cashmere Gate.

The Kutcherry—immediately facing the Cashmere Gate.

The Dak Bungalow, Post Office, and Telegraph Office,—in the building known as the Magazine.

The Delhi Bank—in Chandnee Chouk.

The Bank of Bengal,—just on the right of the Moree Gate viâ the Hamilton Road.

Bishumber Nath's United Service Hotel—close to St. James's Church.

Mr. Roger's Hamilton Hotel—close to Cashmere Gate.

Messrs. Jemsetjee's Sons, Parsee Merchants, having the Copy-right of this Guide.

Messrs. Dooly Sing and Co., General Merchants.

Ismail Khan, the Miniature Portrait Painter, &c., residing in Chandnee Chouk, can be most highly recommended for his very beautiful artistic work: his charges are however rather high.

Ghoolam Hossein Khan, living in Chandnee Chouk, can also be recommended; but Ismail Khan has the greatest reputation.

Shawl Sellers, &c.,—Manik Chand. Got a Medal at the London Exhibition.

Jewellers and Goldsmiths.—Huzaree Mull. Got a Medal at the London Exhibition. Jowahurlall, near Messrs. Jemsetjee's Sons.

Entering by the Cashmere Gate, the road to the extreme right leads to the Delhi and Punjab Railway Terminus, on the Hamilton road. By the road to the left, which may be called the main road of Delhi, the visitor passes the Law Courts, and the Church built by Colonel Skinner. Further on he will remark the Government Delhi College, a building with a lofty pillared verandah. Beyond is the Magazine now used as Dak Bungalow, Post Office, and Telegraph Office, a portion of which was blown up by Lieut. Willoughby in the outbreak of 1857, to prevent its contents falling into the hands of the rebels.

The old Cemetry of Delhi comes next. Then passing under the Railway Bridge, the visitor debouches on the Queen's Road, a spacious roadway running parallel with the line of Railway from the Calcutta Gate of the city to the Moree Gate, both of which have been dismantled. On his immediate right is St. Mary's Catholic Church. Then the Queen's Sarai, a huge structure, with an imposing frontage built by the Municipal Committee, at a cost of Rs. 1,00,570, for the accommodation of Native and European travellers. Next is the entrance to the Queen's Gardens, and further on the East India Railway Terminus. On the left outside angle formed by the level crossing of the Railway line, with the Queen's road, is St. Stephen's Church belonging to the S. P. G. I. Mission. In advance of this, about 500 yards is the Moree Gate, as the visitor debouches from the Railway

Bridge (called the Lothian Bridge,) the lofty walls of the Palace will be seen on his left. If this road is still followed up, it will lead through the Faiz Bazaar to the Delhi Gate, through which the corpses of the young sons of the ex-Emperor, Bahadoor Shah, were brought back after the Princes had been shot dead by Hodson, just subsequent to the complete evacuation of the City by the mutineers in 1857. This part of the Town is termed Duriowgunge, where are the lines of a Native Infantry Regiment, and the houses of many European residents.

The celebrated Chandnee Chouk is no longer what it was. Its glories have ceased, and it is unlikely that the scenes of gaudy pomp once there enacted will ever again meet the eye. The shops are probably as brave in outward show as they ever were, but the moving throng of richly-dressed natives riding on caprisoned horses, lounging on their elephants, or borne along in parti-colored palankeens, have passed away for ever. To the lover of the picturesque this may seem to be pity—in an artistic point of view it is; but the British residents at Delhi probably feel more certain of their lives, now that the off-scourings of Bahadoor Shah's Court are no longer at large.

The Delhi Institute in the Chandnee Chouk will well repay a visit. It is one of the largest buildings in the European style of architecture in India, and is a great ornament to the City. It contains the Station Library, Museum, Municipal Office, Durbar Room, and Rooms for social re-unions. This structure was erected at the expense of the Municipal Committee, at a cost of Rupees 1,35,457.

Facing the Delhi Institute on the Chandnee Chouk side, is a handsome and well-finished Clock Tower with four faces, and a chime of five bells. The City is indebted for this useful as well as ornamental structure also to the Municipal Committee at a cost of Rupees 25,500. It is 128 feet above the ground.

The visitor should by no means fail to drive round the Queen's Gardens, which are very tastefully laid out in the English style; opposite the Institute, with which the Gardens are connected, is the Band Stand. A branch of Ali Merdan's Canal passes through the Gardens.

If time can be given, a pleasant drive may be had by leaving the City at the Cashmere Gate, and turning sharp to the left, follow up the circular road which goes close to the walls; and passing the Moree, Cabul, Lahore, Farash Khana, Ajmere and Turkoman Gates, entrance to the City can be again made at the Delhi Gate. The road from this last gate leads to Feroze Shah's Lât, the Fort of Purana Killa, Humayon's Tomb, &c. The road to the Kootub leaves the circular road just about the Lahore Gate.

Outside the Cashmere Gate is the new Cemetry, where lie the mortal remains of John Nicholson, a great soldier, and a great man in every sense of the word: he fell in the attack on Delhi, being mortally wounded, between the Moree and Cashmere Gates, on the 14th of September 1857, while leading his men on. Who can write his epitaph!

PART II.

RESUME OF THE HISTORY OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF DELHI.

(*From* ELPHINSTONE'S "HISTORY OF INDIA.")

THE last of the Rajpoot sovereigns who reigned in Delhi was dethroned in A. D. 1050, by an ancestor of Rajah Pitthora, or as he is also called the Prithvi Rajah, who was driven from his throne by Shahab-oodeen, and put to death in A. D. 1193. From this date commences the period of the Mahomedan sovereigns of India, who reigned in succession till the throne was no longer to be filled at all. The first sovereign of any note was Kutb-oodeen, originally a Turkish slave, who rose by his gallantry to the confidence of Shahab-

oodeen, and the whole of the Indian empire was confided to his care by the Northern conquerors. No attempt was ever made to deprive him of the sovereignty that had grown out of a vice-royalty, and Kutb-oodeen may be termed the first actual sovereign of Hindoostan who lived in the country. He only reigned from A. D. 1206 to A. D. 1210. Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh succeeded, and in this reign the invasion of the Mogul hordes on the Mahomedan kingdom in Asia took place, headed by Chengis or Gengis Khan; they swept over the country, their only design being to plunder and lay waste. Elphinstone states that this irruption of the Moguls was the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge, as they had no religion to teach, and no seeds of improvement to sow, nor did they offer an alternative of conversion or tribute. The Kootub Minar, about 11 miles from Delhi, was, it is supposed, commenced in this reign. Altomsh died in A. D. 1236. A period of gross mis-government succeeded, and in the reign of Ala-oodeen Masoud (A. D. 1241 to A. D. 1246) two invasions of the Moguls took place. Nasir-oodeen, the grand-son of Altomsh, reigned from A. D. 1246 to A. D. 1266. He was a Prince who lived the life of an ascetic; "he defrayed "all his personal expenses by copying books, his fare was of "the humblest description, and was cooked by his Queen, "to whom he allowed no female servant." The Tabakati Nasiri, a general history of India and Persia, was written at his Court, and takes its name from him. He was a courteous and considerate monarch, and seems to have ruled wisely. Gheias-oodeen Bulbun succeeded—he was the vizier of the last sovereign; he governed from A. D. 1266 to A. D. 1286, and is described as being a narrow-minded and selfish tyrant. His Court was filled with illustrious exiles, who had been driven by the horrors of the Mogul invasion from their homes. The Poet Amir Khusroo, the most celebrated Poet of the East, lived in this reign. Gheias-oodeen was vindictively

cruel in punishing; the lowest as well as the highest were always treated with the greatest severity. He died at the age of 80, and Keikobad, who succeeded him, was assassinated in A. D. 1288, when Jelal-oodeen Kilji, of the house of Kilji, began his reign. He was a simple-hearted, kind old man, being 70 years old when he ascended the throne. In his reign an invasion of the Moguls was quelled, and 3,000 of them joined his standard, a place near Delhi, still called Mogulpoora, being given over to them for a residence. Jelal-oodeen was assassinated by his nephew with the grossest treachery, and that nephew, Alal-oodeen, succeeded him. The new sovereign endeavored to atone for his past atrocities by a just exercise of power, he was successful in several engagements with the Mogul invaders, but he stained his victories by his horrible cruelties to the beaten enemy; all the chiefs who were captured were trampled to death by elephants, while the lower ranks were butchered. In his reign the Hindoos and Mahomedans began to coalesce, and quiet and security reigned in the provinces, while wealth perceptibly increased. The sovereign himself was however an ignorant and arrogant tyrant, and a confirmed drunkard; he reigned from A. D. 1295 to A. D. 1317, being succeeded at his death by his son Mobarik, who at first gave promise of being a good ruler; but he soon entered on a career of debauchery and intoxication, and was assassinated by his favorite Khusroo, who endeavored to seat himself on the throne. Ghazi Khan Toogluck, Governor of the Punjab, marched against the usurper, and slew him. No member of the Kilji family could be found, and the conqueror ascended the vacant throne under the name of Toogluck Shah, in A. D. 1321.

HOUSE OF TOOGLUCK.

Toogluck Shah reigned from A. D. 1321 to A. D. 1325, and governed his people well and wisely. He built the city

called after his name Toogluckabad, which, some six miles from Delhi, is now a mere ruin. He was killed by the fall of a pavilion while visiting one of his sons, Junah, or as otherwise termed Fuqueer-oodeen, who succeeded him under the name of Mahomed Toogluck (A. D. 1325 to A. D. 1351): this man is characterized as being one of the most extraordinary Princes that ever reigned. He was clever, brave, eloquent, and accomplished: but these brilliant qualities were accompanied by a perversion of intellect, which nullified all his talents. He attempted the conquest of China and of Persia, endeavored to get up a paper currency, compelled the people of Delhi to emigrate in a body to Deowgiri (or Dowlutabad), and famine and disease breaking out, the people had again to return to the capital, and some of his subjects revolting, he hunted them down like wild beasts. The provinces lost in this reign were not recovered till the time of Aurungzib. The traveller, Ibn Bututa, a native of Tangiers, visited the kingdom during Mahomed Toogluck's life-time. Firoz Toogluck, commonly called Firoz Shah, succeeded. This reign is distinguished for the extent and utility of its public works. Mosques, colleges, caravanserais, reservoirs, hospitals, bridges, and baths were constructed in great numbers, and a canal was dug from where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnal to Hansi and Hissar. The great city of Firozabad was built in this reign—hardly a trace of it now remains; but the present city of Delhi has been built over a part of the site of Firozabad, and the Kala Musjid, within the walls of the modern city of Delhi, was erected in this sovereign's reign, and was a part of his city. Alterations were made in the criminal code, and mutilation was forbidden. Many of Firoz Shah's great works are yet extant, and has earned the reputation of being the greatest building sovereign that ever ruled in India. He died in A. D. 1388, and was buried in the village of Hous Khass, near Delhi.

In Mahomed Toogluck's reign (A. D. 1394 to A. D. 1400) the empire was invaded by Tamerlane, the route taken being through the Hindoo Khoosh and by Bunnoo over the Indus. Delhi fell, and over 100,000 of the inhabitants are said to have been slain. Tamerlane is described as being "a mix-"ture of much good and bad, full of intrigue, cant and "hypocrisy, but he had courage, prudence, and address, with "a perfect knowledge of mankind. In comparing him with "Gengis Khan, the latter may be said to be the most violent, "while Tamerlane was the most perfidious." For two months after Tamerlane's departure, Delhi remained without a sovereign; then followed the government of the Seiads (A. D. 1414 to A. D. 1444,) but during this time there may be said to have been no kingdom of India, and at one period the frontier actually came to within one mile of the city walls.

HOUSE OF LODI.

Behlol Lodi's grandfather had been Governor of Mooltan under Firoz Shah, and his father and uncle had held commands under the Seiads. There were three sovereigns of this house; they extended the kingdom very much, but seem to have been both proud and tyrannical. Secunder Lodi detested the idolatrous Hindoos; he destroyed their temples and forbade pilgrimages. Ibrahim Lodi lost his life and his kingdom at Paniput, in A. D. 1536, being defeated by Baber, who had been called in to aid a revolt of Doulut Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab.

HOUSE OF TIMOUR.

A. D. 1526.—Baber was sixth in descent from Tamerlane: the earliest part of his life was passed in the strangest vicissitudes. He reigned for 22 years over Cabul before his conquest of India, and he seems always to have preferred his Northern possessions. He took Agra in A. D. 1525, and afterwards subdued Malwa and Mewa, Bundelkund and Behar

and expired in A. D. 1530, in the 50th year of his age. He was buried at Cabul by his own desire. Elphinstone says, "he "was the most admirable, though not the most powerful, "Prince that ever reigned in Asia." For a long time he kept a diary of his life, and his writings "contain a minute "account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a "natural effusion of his opinion and feelings, free from dis-"guise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of "extreme frankness and candour." He describes minutely the dress and characteristics of each individual introduced, and his diary abounds "in descriptions of the countries he visited, "their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art, &c." He seems to have had a kind and affectionate heart, and an easy and sociable temper. He was possessed of great strength and activity, and it is told of him that he rode in two days from Calpee to Agra, a distance of 160 miles, and on the journey twice swam across the Jumna. He was also a scholar of no mean order, and composed many elegant Persian poems.

A. D. 1530.—Humayon, his son, who succeeded him, passed a life almost stranger in vicissitudes than his father. His three brothers' names were Camran, Hindal, and Mirza Askeri. The former was Governor of Cabul and Candahar, and on Humayon's taking the throne, he advanced against him. Humayon gave up the Punjab and appointed Hindal Governor of Sambal, and Mirza Askeri Governor of Mewat. Disputes arising between Bakhudar, King of Guzerat, and himself, he attacked and defeated him in A. D. 1534, and in an attack on the Fort of Champaneer, himself led the stormers. Guzerat and Malwa eventually broke away from his control, notwithstanding the previous engagement in his favour. Shir Khan, otherwise called Shir Shah, now rebelled, occupied Guzerat, conquered Behar, and invaded Bengal. Humayon marched against him, but was delayed by a strong garrison at Chunar,

which place at last fell, but only to be given up again soon after. Shir Shah then occupied Behar and Benares, laid siege to Juanpore, and advanced on Canouj. Soon after, in A. D. 1539, Humayon was defeated and fled to Agra. The following year Shir Shah again overthrew him on the banks of the Ganges, and with his brothers, Hindal and Mirza Askeri, he fled to Agra, and subsequently to Camran at Lahore, but Camran ceded the Punjab to Shir Shah, and Humayon retired into Sind. After many days of evil fortune, almost unattended, he arrived in the Persian States. It is said of Humayon, that though a monarch of little enterprize, he was a brave man, and bore his many troubles with kingly equanimity.

HOUSE OF SUR.

A. D. 1540.—Shir Shah having driven Humayon out of his possessions, entered on the government of the country he had conquered. He subdued Malwa, Mewar and Marwar, but he was killed in 1545, while engaged in the capture of the town of Calinger, by the explosion of a magazine. Shir Shah had great ability and prudence, and acted with benevolence towards his subjects, introducing many improvements in the civil government, which were borrowed by the Emperor Akber and more fully noticed by him. He built the Delhi, termed Delhi Shir Shah, which extended from the site of Humayon's Tomb up to the Delhi Gate of the modern city, the circumference of Delhi Shir Shah being twice as great as that of the present Delhi or Shahjehanabad. He also made a road from Bengal towards the Indus, with bathing-places and wells at regular intervals. Near Meerut, at Sahseram, his body lies in a stately mausoleum erected by himself. He was succeeded by his second son, Selim.

A. D. 1545.—Selim had a tranquil reign of nine years. He was an improver in public works, and built one division

of the palace at Delhi, and although Humayon afterwards ordered it to be called Nurghar (by which name it could only be mentioned at court) it still retains that of Selimghur. Selim's son, aged twelve years, was murdered by his uncle, who succeeded to the throne under the title of Mahomed Shah Sur Adili.

A. D. 1553.—This sovereign was grossly ignorant and debauched: he was odious for his vices and notorious for his incapacity. He gave over the conduct of his government to a Hindoo by name Hemu, rebellions soon ensued, and no sooner was one quelled than another broke out. Sekunder Shah, a nephew of Shir Shah, proclaimed himself King of the Punjab, and at the same time the Emperor Humayon again appeared on the scene, defeated Sekunder Shah, and captured Delhi and Agra. Hemu, who had been suppressing a revolt in Bengal, after utterly subduing the rebels there, left his sovereign at Chunar, advanced on Agra, defeated Tardi Beg, Humayon's General, at Delhi, and prepared to march on Lahore to attack Akber. Humayon's son, Akber, though only thirteen years of age, refused to retire, and gave the conduct of his affairs to Behram Khan, who, at Paniput, rendered memorable before by the overthrow of Ibrahim Lodi by Baber, in 1526, defeated Hemu, who, throughout the battle, had fought most bravely. Desperately wounded he was brought before Akber; Behram Khan directed him to put his captive to death, but the generous young Prince refused to strike a wounded enemy, on which Behram Khan himself put an end to Hemu's life. This battle took place on the 5th of November 1556, and Mahomed Shah Sur Adili died soon after in Bengal. Humayon had died at Delhi before these events had occurred, but it is necessary here to make a slight retrospect. The flying Emperor Humayon, after quitting his dominion about A. D. 1540, had entered the Persian territory, where he was

received with some courtesy by the reigning Sovereign Shah Tahmasp, the second of the Safai (or Sophi) Kings, who was a Shia Mussulman by creed, whereas the fugitive was a Soonee, as are most of his creed in India. The Persian Prince lost no time in informing Humayon that he must comply with his requisitions if he expected any help, and it soon became evident that if the exile did not conform to his wishes, there would not be even safety of life. He was in fact compelled to adopt the Persian head-dress and the Shia creed, and, as soon as he had agreed to the Persian King's demands, a force of 12,000 horse was promised to aid him in recovering his dominions. Humayon moved leisurely off to the Persian frontier, where these troops awaited his arrival, but loitering on the way, Tahmasp overtook him and imperiously ordered him to march 40 miles without delay: but at Sistan, Humayon found 14,000 horse under Morad Mirza, the Persian King's son. At this period, Camran was in possession of Cabul, Hindal was Governor of Ghuzni, and Candahar was ruled by Mirza Askeri. In March 1545, Humayon marched on Candahar, which surrendered in September of the same year. Mirza Askeri was pardoned, but was subsequently imprisoned in chains for three years. Candahar was made over to the Persians in accordance with a prior convention, but Morad Mirza dying, Humayon got into the city, slaughtered the Persian guards, and took the place, and marched on Cabul accompanied by Hindal. Camran fled from Cabul, and, the city being given up, Humayon's son Akber was recovered; and Humayon moved against Budakshan, upon which Camran again returned and took Cabul. But he surrendered to Humayon in A. D. 1548, and was forgiven, and it is related that the four re-united brothers once more ate together and became friends. Camran soon after again revolted, and Humayon, in the conflict that ensued, was deserted by his

soldiers and nearly slain (A. D. 1550), but managed to reach Budakshan, where Mirza Soliman supported him. Camran again took Cabul, but was driven out by Humayon, who then turned his arms against those who had sheltered his brother; but attacked by the mountaineers, Hindal was slain, and his army suffered great losses. Camran was soon after given up by the Sultan of the Ghukkars in A. D. 1553, and by order of Humayon he was blinded, his eyes being pierced repeatedly with a lancet, lemon juice and salt being squeezed into the wounds. He afterwards died in Mecca. After this Humayon spent a year in Candahar. In the meantime Selim Shah had died, and the mis-government of his successor had broken up his territories into five portions, in each of which there was a separate King. Sekunder Shah ruled the Punjab, and had driven the usurper Ibrahim from his territories, while Adili, the real sovereign, was carrying on war against both. Humayon invaded the Punjab and defeated Sekunder's Governor in A. D. 1555, taking possession of Lahore; while at Sirhind he met and overthrew Sekunder himself, and immediately after took possession of Agra and Delhi. Behram Khan and young Akber were sent in pursuit of Sekunder, who rapidly fled. Humayon's renewed lease of power was but a short one. Six months after his return to Delhi, he was accidentally killed, falling headlong over the parapet of his library; dying in the 49th year of his age and the 26th of his reign, including his sixteen years of banishment.

Akber was but thirteen years of age when he ascended the throne; the best of Humayon's old officers, Behram Khan, being made Regent. After the defeat of Hemu, the Hindoo, the young sovereign took possession of Agra and Delhi, and the real restoration of the house of Tamerlane dates from this period. Behram Khan was harsh and severe, and being haughty and over-bearing in his manner, he was both

disliked and feared. A breach arose between Akber and his powerful vassal, and Behram acted so unjustly that Akber drew further from him, and, determined at last to break the yoke about him,—moved to this principally by the arbitrary and cruel conduct of Behram who had, to suit his own ends, caused several of the chief nobles to be put to death. A journey was planned to Delhi, and on arriving there the Emperor, free from his minister, announced his intention of taking the government into his own hands. Behram saw he had gone too far, and made his submission, which was not, however, accepted. He then started as if to go to Mecca, but lingering on the way he received orders from Akber, dismissing him from all his posts, and directing him to proceed at once on his journey; he at first complied, but irritated at some further orders, he went into open rebellion and invaded the Punjab. Akber moved against him, and Behram had at last to throw himself on the Emperor's mercy.

The noble-hearted Akber freely forgave and sent his high nobles to meet him, and seated him at his own right hand, offering him a high position at court or an honorable dismissal on his journey to Mecca. He chose the latter course, but was assassinated by an Affghan prior to embarking. Akber was now eighteen years of age, engaging in his manners, and, well formed in his person, "he excelled in "all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant "courage even in his amusements, as in taming unbroken "horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers "and other wild beasts. Yet with this disposition, and a "passionate love of glory, he founded his hopes of fame at least "as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as in "its military success." At first Akber's territory was merely the Punjab and the country round Delhi and Agra, but in the third year of his reign he had acquired Ajmere, and the

following year he took possession of Gwalior, and recovered Lucknow and the country as far East as Jounpore. The last of the family of Sur that remained in opposition was defeated by Khan Zeman, one of the Emperor's chiefs, but the conqueror attempted to defy his young sovereign, who marched against him at once and quelled his insubordination. Another of the great nobles, Adam Khan by name, defeated and expelled Baz Bahadur from Malwa, but refused, as Khan Zeman had done, to part with the fruits of his victory. Akber, with his usual speed, was on his rebellious vassal before the latter could collect a sufficient force, or was even aware of his approach. Adam Khan tendered his submission, and was generously pardoned, but the Emperor removed him from his government. This Adam Khan was a man of ungovernable temper, and in some subsequent rivalry with Akber's vizier, he stabbed him while at prayers in a room next to the Emperor's apartments. The murderer was hurled from the battlements by way of punishment—his tomb is close to the Kootub Minar, near Delhi. It is not proposed here to follow Akber through all the revolts and disturbances that took place in his reign; to the general reader they would be uninteresting, and to those who care to peruse the account, it is almost unnecessary to say that all details will be found in Elphinstone's History, of which this is a summary. A story is told of Akber, which is thoroughly characteristic of him. He met two bodies of Hindoo devotees preparing to contend for the possession of a certain bathing-place. Finding his endeavour to calm the parties useless, he ordered them to fight it out, and when one party had won the day, he made his guards c[illegible] the victors, and so end the battle. By his twenty-fifth year this able Prince "had crushed his adversaries by his "vigour, or attached them by his clemency," and he proceeded to turn his arms against the Rana of Oodipore: the strong

town of Chitoor was besieged, and the operations of the imperial army seem to have resembled in some degree those of more modern besiegers, for advance was made by sap and mining, and the breaches were soon declared practicable for the stormers. The mines however blew up, and caused more harm to the attacking party than to the defenders, but the siege was commenced again, and Akber, with his own hand, shot dead Jei Mull, the chief of the garrison. The latter lost heart, and, burning their women, rushed out to seek death; the Mahomedans were already on the ramparts, and it is told that 8,000 Rajpoots fell that day. Shortly after Guzerat was annexed to Akber's dominions, and Bengal and Behar were conquered in A. D. 1576.

The next conquest was Cashmere. "This country had "been ruled by a long succession of Hindoo, and sometimes "perhaps of Tartar Princes, from a very remote period "till the beginning of the 14th century, when it fell into "the hands of a Mahomedan adventurer, and was held by "Princes of the same persuasion till Akber's invasion." Dangerous and beautiful passes lead to this fine country, the roads rise and descend through deep defiles, and in some seasons of the year these passes are impracticable from snow. Not much difficulty was experienced in annexing this country, but in the attempt to coerce the hill tribes to the North and North-West of his dominions, Akber did not meet with so much success, and it may be said that this frontier war lingered on in an unsatisfactory manner till the reign of Shah Jehan. In the meanwhile Scind and Candahar were annexed (A. D. 1592.) It is reported that during the war in Scind, the chief of that country had in his army 200 native soldiers dressed as Europeans, and that some Portuguese were among his retainers. Prince Danial, Akber's son, was sent as Viceroy to Candeish, which was the next kingdom absorbed, and the Emperor leaving the command

in the Dekkan to his great favorite, Abul Fuzl, returned to Agra. This return was necessitated by the conduct of his eldest son, Selim. Akber, on going to the Dekkan, had declared this Prince his successor, and made him Viceroy of Ajmere, entrusting to his charge the war with Oodipore. Selim took the opportunity to revolt and marched on Agra, but that city not surrendering, he moved against Allahabad, and seized Oudh and Berar, assuming the title of King. Akber, ever generous, forgave his son, and conferred on him the governorship of Bengal and Orissa. Selim, on his way to his new command, instigated the assassination of Abul Fuzl,(his father's great friend,) in revenge for some old grudge, and the more this Prince became confirmed in power, the more confirmed he became in diabolical wickedness, and it is said he revived tortures and cruelties that had been long lost sight of. He ordered one offender to be flayed alive. Akber, hearing this, could not conceal his disgust, and said,—" He wondered how the son of a man who "could not see a dead beast flayed without pain, could be "guilty of such cruelty on a human being." It seems a pity, however, that he did not show his disgust a little more strongly by punishing his son. This view of the case does not appear to have occurred to him.

In September 1605, this great sovereign breathed his last, entreating his attendant nobles to forgive him all his faults, and making over the kingdom to his son Selim, who with passionate tears of repentance, knelt at the dying Emperor's bedside. Akber's reign may be considered a decided benefit to the country he ruled over, and no deeds of dark ferocity or tyranny stained his possession of the throne. He allowed perfect toleration in religious matters, and was himself a free thinker, who delighted to get the votaries of different religions together, and to listen to their arguments. His own idea of religion seems to have been comprised in this—" There was

no God but God, and "Akber was his Caliph,"—in fact he put Mahomed out of sight altogether, and in consequence, to this day, all bigoted Mussulmans are inclined to think far less of this great soldier and admirable sovereign than he deserves. Certainly, Akber never much consulted the feelings of the Mahomedans, as he changed "the æra of the Hejira "and the Arabian months for a solar year," discouraged the study of Arabic, allowed no one to approach him with a beard, although wearing the beard is enjoined in the Koran, and Arabian names were disused. With regard to the Hindoos, "he forbade trials by ordeal and marriages before the age of "puberty;" he also allowed Hindoo widows to re-marry, and prohibited "Suttees" which were against the will of the victim to be sacrificed. His "revenue system, though so celebrated "for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new in-"vention—it only carried the previous system into effect with "greater precision and correctness: it was in fact only a con-"tinuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah, whose short "reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his "kingdom." The plan in detail is given in Elphinstone's History. The author of these reforms was Rajah Todar Mahal, "by whose name it is still called everywhere." He was a most able finance minister.

In the reign of Akber, the Forts of Agra, Allahabad, and Attock were commenced and completed, together with many other works. Futtehpore Sikri, now a most magnificent ruin near Arga, was also built by Akber, and was his principal residence, but it has long since been deserted.

Akber is described by two Europeans who saw him (*Purchas, vol.* v., *page* 516,) as a Prince who kept up "less "show or state than other Asiatic Princes, and that he stood "or sat *below the throne* to administer justice;" they add, "he is affable and majestical, merciful and severe, skilful in "mechanical arts, and of sparing diet, sleeping but three

"hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, "seeming to grace them and their presents with more respec- "tive ceremonies than the grandees, loved and feared of his "own, terrible to his enemies."

He was a great equestrian like his grandfather Baber, riding on one occasion from Agra to Ajmere, 220 miles, in two successive days.

He died, lamented by his people, and was succeeded by his eldest son Selim, who took the name of Jehangir.

A. D. 1605.—Jehangir commenced his reign better than might have been expected from his past career. Though himself a confirmed drunkard, he forbade the use of wine, and took care that his orders should be obeyed. This Emperor detested his son Khusroo, who, on his father's accession, fled to Lahore, where he got together a force of some 10,000 men; he was soon defeated, and brought before his father with the other captives. Jehangir's ferocity had now full range; 700 of the unfortunate captives were impaled in a line, and Prince Khusroo was led on an elephant along this line to see the sufferings of his followers, his attendants mocking and jeering at him. The Emperor, in his private diary expatiates on the horrible agonies the sufferers endured.

Jehangir's wife, Noor Jehan, was a very remarkable woman. She was of a comparatively low rank in life, and was employed in the female apartments of Akber's wives: here the future Emperor saw her and plotted to obtain possession of her. She was, however, married to a young Affghan by Akber's consent. Jehangir induced the Governor of Bengal to endeavour to win over Noor Jehan from her husband: the latter slew the Governor, and was himself despatched; but Noor Jehan long refused to have anything to say to Jehangir. In time, however, his suit was successful, and the lady was raised to honors that no Indian sove-

reign's consort had ever before enjoyed. The conduct of Jehangir perceptibly improved after his marriage, and we read no more of his barbarous cruelties. In the meanwhile some disturbances in Bengal were quelled, but the war in the Dekkan was not carried on so successfully, and the Mogul armies were worsted. Prince Khurrum (afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan) was sent with an army to Rajpootana, and compelled the Oodipore Rajah to sue for peace. Shah Jehan adopted the policy of Akber, and treated his beaten foe generously. The Englishman, Sir J. Roe, at about this period, arrived at court as ambassador from James I. of England. Shah Jehan was shortly after elevated to the title of King, and he advanced to the attack on the Dekkan, the Emperor himself following. This war was over in A. D. 1617, and Shah Jehan re-joined his father, who gave him the Vice-royalty of Guzerat; but the war in the Dekkan being again renewed, Shah Jehan, rapidly defeating his opponents, once more reduced the country to submission. Prince Purviz at this time died, and Jehangir was seized by a dangerous illness, and Noor Jehan, after so long consistently supporting Shah Jehan, now turned against him. She had married her daughter by her first husband to Jehangir's youngest son, Prince Sheriar, and to get Shah Jehan out of the way, he was sent to recover Candahar, but he demurred, and his delay was represented to the Emperor as arising from projects of independence. It was made clear that Prince Sheriar was to occupy the position so long held by Shah Jehan, and the latter immediately marched on Agra: Jehangir proceeded from Lahore, and lay near his son's army. Shah Jehan retreated to Meerut, and eventually set out on his return march to Mandu, followed by his father's force.

In Bengal he was attacked by the Governor of that province at Rajmehal, but overthrowing him, he thus

obtained possession of Bengal and Behar, and afterwards turned to meet the Emperor's army. His levies now began to desert, and being defeated in an engagement that took place, he fled to the Dekkan, and his health giving way, he made his submission to his father. The Emperor ordered him to send his sons, Dara Sheko and Aurungzib, to his court as hostages for his good behaviour, and so for a time the ill-feeling between father and son subsided. Jehangir now intended proceeding to Cabul, but he did not accomplish his journey in tranquillity. Noor Jehan had long disliked one Mohabut Khan, a great noble of the empire, and she caused him to be ordered to attend court and answer certain charges made against him. With 5,000 Rajpoots he set out on his journey: before he arrived, Jehangir, with brutal fury, had ordered his son-in-law to be flogged with thorns, and deprived him of all his property. Mohabut Khan, however, still advanced, hoping to see the Emperor, but on his approaching, he was informed that no audience would be granted him; and seeing his fall was designed, he determined to strike a blow, the audacity of which would go far to insure success. Jehangir was then on the Hydaspes preparing to cross on a bridge of boats on the road to Cabul, and had sent his army on ahead, remaining behind with his personal guards. Mohabut Khan rapidly sent 2,000 men to seize the bridge, and with the rest of his force he swept down on the Emperor, made him prisoner, placed him on an elephant, and paraded him in public. A servant of the Emperor's, endeavoring to force his way through to his master, was immediately cut down, and it was made clear that resistance could not be made without danger to the sovereign. It is told of Jehangir, that even at this very critical time his bottle-attendant was allowed a place with him on the elephant, the royal drunkard being fit for nothing unless his stimulant was always forthcoming.

Noor Jehan was dismayed at hearing of her husband's capture, and on arriving at her own camp at the other side of the river, she led the imperial army to the attack; but the bridge had been burnt, and the men had to swim over the river and fight as best they could; against such obstacles nothing could be done, and the imperial army was defeated. The Emperor managed soon after to get away from his captor, to whom good terms were granted, he agreeing to go in pursuit of Shah Jehan, who had fled into Scind; but Mohabut Khan again quarrelled with Jehangir and joined Shah Jehan's camp. The Emperor meanwhile marched to Lahore and set off on his annual visit to Cashmere. Prince Sheriar was now seized with a violent illness and had to leave Cashmere, and soon after Jehangir had a return of asthma and died (A. D. 1627), in the 60th year of his age. In this sovereign's reign an edict was issued against the use of tobacco, then a novelty. He was succeeded by Shah Jehan.

A. D. 1627.—The influence of Noor Jehan expired with her husband's death, and she is hardly ever again mentioned in history. Prince Sheriar in vain attempted to struggle with Shah Jehan's General, Asof Khan, and was put to death. High honors were bestowed on Mohabut Khan and Asof Khan, and formal possession of his throne was taken by Shah Jehan in Agra. Khan Jehan Lodi now effected independence; he had held a great military charge under Jehangir, and commanded in the Dekkan under Prince Parriz, when the latter died, and now making terms with the son of Malik Amber, the head of the Nizam Shahi Government, he defied the power of the Emperor and laid siege to Mandu. He was easily overthrown and removed to the government of Malwa, while the government of the Dekkan was handed over to Mohabut Khan. Khan Jehan Lodi soon after came to court, but dreading treachery, he assembled his troops and marched out of Agra; being followed and attacked, he was

utterly defeated; he, however, escaped, and opened communications with the King of Ahmednugger. Shah Jehan then moved into the Dekkan at the head of three armies, and Khan Jehan Lodi was driven out of Ahmednugger, and failing to gain a retreat with the King of Bijapore, retreated to Bundelkhund, where he was soon after slain. The war in the Dekkan went on, though a pestilence and famine spread over the country. The King of Bijapore joined the King of Ahmednugger, but the latter was assassinated by his minister, Futteh Khan, who made his submission to Shah Jehan. The Emperor laid siege to Bijapore, but he failed to take the city, and returned to Delhi, leaving Mohabut Khan behind him, who completely routed the Dekkanis. Mohabut Khan was after this re-called to court, and the command was divided between Khani Douran and Khani Zeman. The Mahrattas now first came into notice; one of their chiefs, Shahji Bosla, set up a new aspirant to the throne of Ahmednugger, and the Emperor once more in person proceeded to quell the disturbance. Peace was made with Bijapore, Shahji Bosla submitted, and the kingdom of Ahmednugger was extinguished for ever in A. D. 1637.

The Fort of Hooghly, near Calcutta, the property of the Portuguese, was about this period captured. Candahar was also recovered, for Ali Merdan Khan, the Governor, found himself in such danger from his own sovereign, the King of Persia, that he gave up the place to Shah Jehan and came to Delhi. This Ali Merdan Khan was the maker of the canal that goes through Delhi. From A. D. 1637 to A. D. 1647 the wars on the frontiers occupied the imperial troops, the successes were various, the Emperor's son Aurungzib being conspicuous for his gallantry and ability; he had nevertheless to retreat, with a ruined army, and all the provinces conquered had to be given up. The Persians again seized Candahar, and Aurungzib, in an attack on the place in A. D. 1649, was beaten off, as he was again in A. D. 1652.

In A. D. 1653, the Emperor's eldest son, Dara Sheko, was sent against the city, but he failed, as his brother had before. Turning to the South again, we find that Aurungzib attacked Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda, and the King submitting agreed to pay a million of money. Mir Jumla, late minister of the Golconda sovereign, had joined Aurungzib, and was afterwards one of his most attached adherents. At this period Shah Jehan got most dangerously ill, and Dara Sheko was invested with the governing power. Shah Jehan had four sons, Dara Sheko, Shuja, Aurungzib, and Morad. The eldest was a dignified generous Prince, but impetuous and impatient of opposition; Shuja was a drunkard, though an able man; Aurungzib was a man of mild temper and cold heart, cautious, artful and designing, of great courage and skill, handsome in person, with affable and gracious manners and pleasant conversation, but a master of dissimulation; Morad was brave and generous, but dull in intellect.

The Emperor's opinion of his sons is as follows:—

"Dara had talents, for command and the dignity becom- "ing the royal office, but was intolerant to all who had any "pretensions to eminence. Shuja was a mere drunkard, and "Morad a glutton and sensualist. Aurungzib excelled both "in action and in council, was well fitted to undertake the "burden of public affairs, but full of subtle suspicion, and "never likely to find any one whom he could trust."

Aurungzib heard of his father's illness and of Dara's assuming the sovereignty. Prince Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, marched towards the capital, and Morad, Viceroy of Guzerat, followed his example. Aurungzib did not assume the royal state, and although he marched Northwards, he did nothing till Dara Sheko sent orders for Mir Jumla to leave his standards, and Mir Jumla's family being with the court, he did not know how to refuse; but Aurungzib removed his difficulties by pretending to confine him,

and leaving Dara Sheko and Shuja to weaken each other, he applied all his art to gain over Morad, and declared him to be the new Emperor, offering him his services against Dara Sheko. The latter advanced on Agra, and sent an army under his son, Soliman Sheko, to oppose Shuja. The Emperor, positively getting better, ordered Prince Shuja to return to his province; but he refused to obey, and was defeated and driven again to Bengal. Aurungzib and Morad defeated Rajah Jeswunt Singh, the imperial commander, and Morad was still led to believe that he was to be the future Emperor. The armies of Aurungzib and Dara met near Agra in A. D. 1658, where Dara's forces were defeated and he himself had to retire on Delhi. Aurungzib marched to Agra, three days after the battle, and though Shah Jehan lived seven years after, his reign may be said to end from this date, while Morad being no longer required as a puppet, was dismissed from his sovereignty and sent to confinement in Gwalior. The best historian of those times, Khaji Khan, states that for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances, and the good administration in every department of the State, no Prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jehan. He built the present city of Delhi, with its splendid palace and Jumma Musjid, together with many other public buildings, including the Taj Mahal at Agra, erected to the memory of his Queen, Mumtaz Mahal. He also caused to be made the celebrated Peacock Throne, which is said to have cost £6,000,000. In his treasury he left over twenty-four millions of pounds of our money and countless jewels. His conduct on the throne was blameless, and his treatment of his people beneficent and paternal, but he indulged during the latter part of his reign in pleasures that enervated his mind, and rendered him slothful and indif-

ferent to his own interests. He reigned 30 years, and died at the age of 74, seven years after his deposition.*

A. D. 1658.—Aurungzib virtually ascended the throne in A. D. 1658, and having effectually routed Dara Sheko, his object was to pursue him, but he watched the movements of Soliman Sheko, who was marching to his father's relief, aided by Rajah Jei Singh, and a General, named Dilir Khan. These two, however, deserted Soliman and joined Aurungzib, and Soliman took refuge in Sirinugger, but only to find himself a captive. Aurungzib now swiftly advanced on Dara Sheko, who by this time was raising another army at Lahore; but Aurungzib's promptitude disconcerted his plans, and he was forced to retreat towards Mooltan. Prince Shuja, having advanced from Bengal, Aurungzib turned to meet him, leaving Dara to continue his flight. The rivals met at Cajwa, between Allahabad and Etawah. Rajah Jeswunt Singh treacherously joined Shuja and attacked Aurungzib's army, and it was only the admirable measures of the Emperor that enabled his forces to gain a complete victory. Prince Mahomed Sooltan, son of Aurungzib, was sent after Shuja; and Mir Jumla, being released from his imaginary confinement, accompanied the young Prince, Aurungzib himself returning to Agra. Jeswunt Singh, perceiving that the chances of Shuja were gone, retreated on Agra, but he did nothing there, and retired into Jodhpore, and a force was sent against him. Shuja in the meantime re-entered Bengal. A gleam of good fortune now appeared in Dara Sheko's favor: he was acknowledged in Guzerat as the sovereign, and endeavoured to join Jeswunt Singh. Aurungzib, perceiving the desperateness of the situation, by his wiles won over the double traitor, Jeswunt Singh, who, when Dara was just about to join him, sent to

* Accounts vary as to the blamelessness of Shah Jehan's private life. Bernier describes him as grossly immoral and entirely given over to dissipation.

say he dared not fight against Aurungzib; Dara, with a considerable army, encamped near Ajmere, and awaited the arrival of his brother. A gallant fight took place, but Dara's invariable ill-fortune here again overtook him, for he was completely routed and left almost alone. In a miserable plight, thoroughly worn out by incessant marching, and the attacks of the hill-men, he at last reached Ahmedabad. The celebrated traveller, Bernier,* met him on his journey, and stayed a day or two in attendance on some of his family. To the bitter disappointment of the fugitives, the gates of Ahmedabad were closed against them, and they were forced to continue their retreat into Cutch, and so passed on into the Eastern part of Scind. There Dara was treacherously seized by an Affghan chief, and he and his son, Sepehr Sheko, were sent to Aurungzib, who, in a mean spirit of revenge, paraded his captured brother through the principal streets, and confined him in a prison in old Delhi. The chief of Jun, who had thus acted the traitor's part, was met with curses and reproaches by the people, who all admired the fallen Prince, and it was with difficulty that a tumult was restrained. Dara was of course put to death, clemency or generosity forming no part of Aurungzib's character. But not tamely did the descendant of great Akber resign his life; when he saw the executioners coming, he fought most desperately, but was soon overpowered and slain. Aurungzib ordered his murdered brother's head to be washed and wiped in his presence, having first sent the corpse round the city on an elephant, and when he was really satisfied that it really was Dara's head, he of course, as all such hypocrites do, burst into tears. Sepehr Sheko was sent to prison in Gwalior, Prince Sultan and Mir Jumla now pressed Shuja hard,

* Bernier was a French travelling physician, a man of some note. He was long attached to Shah Jehan's Court, of which, in his book on India, he gives a very good description.

but Sultan, discontented at serving under Mir Jumla, went over to Shuja's side (A. D. 1659), and married one of his daughters, and again growing dissatisfied with his uncle, he once more re-joined Mir Jumla. Aurungzib hearing of this, ordered his son into imprisonment, where he was kept for many years. Shuja's affairs from this date went rapidly wrong; he retreated towards Dacca, and fled afterwards with a few followers to the Rajah of Arracan; his end is not known, but it is supposed he was assassinated. Prince Soliman Sheko was given up by the Rajah of Sirinuggur, and was sent by the Emperor's orders to confinement in Gwalior, where he shortly after died together with his brother, Sepehr Sheko, and his cousin, the young son of Morad, while Aurungzib's own son, Sultan, who was confined in the same place, lived till long after. The unhappy Morad, in attempting to escape from his imprisonment, was seized, a charge was trumped up against him, and he was put to death. The Emperor now had cleared the way; this noblest of sovereigns, according to the Mahomedan idea, having murdered two of his brothers, and effectually disposed of their sons, besides deposing his own father. Mir Jumla was now sent to Assam, which he soon subdued, but worn out with his efforts, and the hardship he had undergone, he died in A. D. 1663; his son, Mahomed Amin, being immediately raised by the Emperor to all his dignities. A severe attack of illness at this period completely prostrated Aurungzib; for a time his life was despaired of, and intriguers immediately commenced plotting; but the Emperor was equal to the emergency, he forced himself to appear at court, and went through all the usual formalities. On his recovery he set off for Cashmere.

The Mahratta family of the Boslas here came into notice. Maloji, an officer of Malick Amber's, was of a respectable family, and a dependant of Jadu Rao, who had command of

10,000 horse. By a will of Maloji, his son, Shahji, was betrothed to Jadu Rao's daughter, and one of the sons of the union that followed was Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire. Shahji Bosla had been no mean actor in the last events of the kingdom of Ahmednugger, and he had risen to considerable importance. The Mahratta chiefs were wholly illiterate; riding, hunting, and military exercises were all they learnt; but ignorant as they were in letters, they studied men to perfection, and the Mahratta power rose till it eventually overshadowed and eclipsed the glories of the Moguls. Sevaji obtained possession of a Mahomedan fort called Torna, and he proceeded to capture or buy over several others, and at length he revolted against the government of Bijapore and took possession of the Northern Concan. The government of Bijapore seized his father and tried to coerce Sevaji by threats, but the latter made overtures to Shah Jehan, who was then reigning, and his father's life was spared at the Emperor's request. On Shahji's release, Sevaji again commenced his attacks, and approaching the confines of the Mogul command, Prince Aurungzib was sent down to check him (A. D. 1655); the two, however, came to terms, which they both evaded fulfilling. The Bijapore government now got seriously alarmed, and sent Afzool Khan against Sevaji. The cunning Mahratta completely hood-winked the haughty Mahomedan, who was induced to meet (what he was led to consider) his trembling and suppliant foe. He advanced through woody defiles to the hill-fort of Pertabgurh, where Sevaji was residing, and the Mahratta persuaded his enemy to meet him alone apparently unarmed. Sevaji descended with tottering steps from his fort, but under his white robe he wore a shirt of chain armour and a concealed dagger, and sharp hooks of steel were fastened in his fingers. At the moment of embrace Sevaji struck the claws into his adversary and despatched

him on the spot, while his troops, who were concealed in the defiles, fell on the Mahomedans and completely overthrew them. It is said of Sevaji that he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, but that he was never personally guilty of useless cruelty, which after all is not much in the way of praise.

The King of Bijapore now took the field himself, and before long Sevaji was driven out of his conquests, but by 1662 he had again made good all his losses. It was at this time that Aurungzib was taken so dangerously ill, and that Sevaji commenced his ravages in the Mogul territory. Shaista Khan, the imperial commander, marched against him and took up his position at Puna, twelve miles from Singhur, where Sevaji had retired. At Puna, Shaista Khan occupied the very house Sevaji had lived in as a child, and the bold Mahratta determined on a daring enterprize. He entered Puna with a band of singers, leaving his troops on the road, and entered his own house by a back-door, at once attacking Shaista Khan, who had barely time to escape with his life. Sevaji rapidly retreated, joined his men on the road, and ascended again to his hill-fort amid a blaze of torches! Shaista Khan thought that this attack had been connived at by some of his own people, and the dissensions in the imperial army became so great that Shaista was re-called. Aurungzib's son, Prince Moazzim, being sent down to take command, Sevaji now attacked Surat, and plundered it, and his father dying he assumed the title of Rájah and commenced coining money. Aurungzib sent Rajah Jei Singh and Dilir Khan against him, and Moazzim returned to Delhi. Sevaji submitted, and receiving assurance of favour and safety, he proceeded to the imperial court. He and his son Sambaji arrived in Delhi, and Aurungzib had now the opportunity of firmly binding to his interest a man whose influence was immense; but he was too narrow-

minded to treat his guest as he had agreed to treat him, and he thought his best plan would be to endeavour to make Sevaji sensible of his insignificance. At the interview accorded, he treated him with marked discourtesy, and so wounded the feelings of the Mahratta chief, that it is reported he actually fell down in a swoon and was carried out half-dead from the audience : after this he was virtually kept in confinement, but at last managed to escape in a very adroit manner, taking his son with him. Dressed as a *faqueer* he wandered on his road for nine months, eventually reaching his Fort of Raigurh. Soon after his escape, Shah Jehan died.

This was the most prosperous part of Aurungzib's reign. His Governor of Cashmere had brought Little Thibet under his control, and the viceroy of Bengal had conquered Chittagong. The Sherif of Mecca sent him an embassy, as did the King of Abyssinia and the Chief of the Uzbecks, and one also came from the King of Persia.

The imperial army had, under Jei Sing, failed at Bijapore, and Prince Moazzim, with Jeswunt Singh to assist him, was sent to re-place the abovementioned General. Dilir Khan, who was disliked by both, was left as a check on them, according to Aurungzib's wont, for he seemed to trust no one. Sevaji, once back in his own territory, rapidly resumed possession of his old forts, and afterwards made peace with the imperial commanders, was acknowledged as Rajah, and once again he turned his arms on Bijapore and Golconda; and so weakened were the monarchs of these two States, that they agreed to pay the Mahrattas an annual tribute. Sevaji now employed his time in giving a regular form to his government. The wish of Aurungzib was to get Sevaji into his power, hence the concessions made to him, but Sevaji turned all the Emperor's schemes against himself, and conciliated both Moazzim and Jeswunt Singh by bribes.

The Emperor soon found out how useless the game was he was playing, and that to cajole the crafty Mahratta chief was impossible; he then threw off the mask and once more gave orders for war, on which Sevaji immediately surprised Singhur, plundered Surat, and ravaged Candeish, for the first time levying the celebrated "*chouth*," a permanent contribution of one-fourth of the revenue, exempting the districts that paid from plunder. Mohabut Khan was sent against the Mahrattas with 40,000 men, but was defeated by Sevaji. After this the war languished for many years, and the Emperor's attention was occupied by the war with the hill tribes. An insurrection of the Hindoos exciting Aurungzib's bigotry, he revived the capitation tax, checked all displays of idol-worship, forbade all fairs on Hindoo festivals, and from some fancy of his own he prohibited the making of verses or writing of history; and thus from the eleventh year of his reign, the course of events is only traceable through letters, &c. Orders were given that no more Hindoos were to be entertained in the subordinate appointments of the public service; it was found impracticable to carry this order out, but the issuing of it, together with his other arbitrary acts, raised in the Hindoo mind a deep feeling of dislike and dissatisfaction. In Delhi the people swarmed round the imperial procession going to the mosque, but the retinue forced their way through the crowd; many lives were lost in consequence, and numbers were trampled by the elephants.

The people submitted, but great discontent arose. The Hindoos in the Dekkan became at heart Mahrattas, and the Rajpoots, with the exception of Rajah Ram Singh of Jeypore, refused to agree to the capitation tax, and the whole of Rajpootana rose in arms. Aurungzib marched against the malcontents, but a peace was patched up on favourable terms to the enemy. The Emperor returned to Delhi, but hearing that the Rana of Oodipore had again broken

into rebellion, he once more set forth to chastise him. Calling Prince Moazzim from the Dekkan, and Prince Azim from Bengal, he ordered the Viceroy of Guzerat to invade the Rajpoot territory from that side also. The country was ravaged, and the women and children carried off, and Aurungzib assuredly humbled his vassal, but the result was the complete alienation of the Rajpoots. They indeed did serve again with him, but never with the zeal they had shown of old. Doorga Dass, chief adviser of the Rajpoots, induced Prince Akber to join him, and though Prince Moazzim warned the Emperor of his treachery, his intelligence was derided, and he was himself suspected, and not till Akber was actually proclaimed Emperor did Aurungzib believe Moazzim's account. It was then almost too late to do anything, all the imperial troops were out in detachments, and the Emperor only had about 1,000 men with him at Ajmere; so Moazzim was hastily summoned. Akber had 70,000 men, and Aurungzib's position became extremely critical; but his wonderful genius—for nothing else can it be called—saved him. He conjectured that Akber's troops had been surprised into revolt. Several of the leading men were got over from the Rajpoot side, and ere long so skilfully had Aurungzib used his opportunities, that the whole of Akber's army broke up, but 3,000 horse remaining to cover his retreat to the Mahratta camp. The war with Mewar and Jodhpore was proceeded with, and the Rajpoots catching the intolerant spirit of the Mahomedans, burned the Korân, plundered the mosques, and insulted the "mûllahs." Peace was at last made on favorable terms to the Rajpoots, and the Emperor withdrew his army to the Dekkan. Sevaji was about this period crowned at Raighur with great solemnity, and immediately after he again invaded the Mogul territory, his troops for the first time crossing the Nerbudda. He himself marched Southwards and recovered all his

father's jagheers, and occupied Vellore and other parts of Mysore.

The Moguls invaded Golconda under Dilir Khan, while the war with Bijapore was renewed. The head of that State asked for Sevaji's help, and the latter ravaged the Mogul territory, and Sevaji himself, hastening to the relief of Bijapore, heard of the defection of his son, Sambaji, who, for a gross outrage on a Brahmin's wife, had been confined in a hill fort. Sambaji, after his escape from durance, fled to Dilir Khan, but Aurungzib ordered him to be sent to the imperial camp. Dilir Khan, however, allowed him to return to his father. The siege of Bijapore was raised, but hardly was this effected when Sevaji died in the 53rd year of his age, on the 5th of April 1680. The Mahrattas attempted to set aside Sambaji, but he was at last acknowledged as Rajah. He augurised his reign with terrible cruelties, and spent his days in gross debauchery, wasting all the treasures his father had accumulated, and the kingdom sank into comparative insignificance. Aurungzib again appeared in the Dekkan and determined to conquer Golconda and Bijapore, considering that what threw the Dekkan into confusion, would at last turn to his advantage. The campaign of Prince Moazzim in the Concan had been anything but successful, and having lost all his horses and stores, he was directed to attack Bijapore from the South-west and to co-operate with Prince Azim, the Emperor himself advancing to Ahmednugger. Sambaji now turned on the Emperor's rear, ravaged the country, and plundered Baroch. The Mogul attack on Bijapore failed, but the dominions of the King of Golconda, Sambaji's ally, were invaded by a small force, Prince Moazzim being afterwards sent to assist with a large army.

The King of Golconda, after some internal disturbances, fled to the Fort of Golconda, and Hyderabad was seized

and plundered by the Moguls under Moazzim. Aurungzib was exceedingly indignant at this, not on account of the slaughter or the bad policy of the proceeding, but because he thought that his son was merely following his own example, when Shah Jehan was Emperor, and had embezzled, the wealth found in Hyderabad for his own use. He now marched in person against Bijapore; the vast city was ill-defended, and the besieged surrendered; and "ceasing to be a "capital, it was soon reduced to the deserted condition in "which it now stands." Aurungzib next determined to capture Golconda, and induced the unfortunate sovereign of that country to make him rich presents, while all the time he was intriguing with his followers. The Fort of Golconda fell and the King was made a prisoner; the suspicions of the Emperor against Moazzim were not allayed, and though that Prince had done nothing to deserve his father's displeasure, he was thrown into prison and kept there seven years, and never afterwards did he really come into favour. Aurungzib had attained the objects of his ambition, having dismembered the two States which would have been the best check to the growing power of the Mahrattas, and now all dissentients flocked to Sambaji, and from this period Aurungzib might date "that train of vexa-"tions and disasters which followed him to his grave;" but for the present his star was in the ascendant, and he took possession of Bijapore and Golconda, and acquired Shahji's jagheer in Mysore.

Sambaji all this time did nothing, he seems to have been perpetually sunk in a lethargic stupor from excessive drunkenness, and Prince Akber, who, as before mentioned, had joined him, disgusted at the scenes he witnessed, went to Persia, where he was alive in A. D. 1706. The career of Sambaji was soon to close. The Mogul officer, Tokarrab Khan, commanding at Colapore, by an act of great gallantry,

seized him while at a pleasure-house in the Concan, and though Sambaji had plenty of time to escape, he was so completely intoxicated that he could not stir. He was led before Aurungzib, but, moved to a sense of his degradation, the vile wretch "courted death and replied to an invitation to "become a Mussulman" by the grossest insults to the Mahomedan religion and the Emperor. "He was put to death "with horrible tortures, his eyes were destroyed with a hot "iron, and his tongue was cut out." He was afterwards beheaded. His infant son, Saho, was acknowledged as Rajah, and his uncle, Rajah Ram, was made Regent. The Fort of Raighur being taken, the infant Prince was captured, but the Regent escaped to Jingi, and was there proclaimed Rajah. In A. D. 1662, Rajah Ram took the field, and the whole of the Dukkan was once more in a blaze. The Mogul army was no longer what it had been; the grossest abuses had crept in, and ostentation and show took the place of such soldierly qualities as the soldiers of Akber and Shah Jehan had possessed; the guards slept when on duty, and were encumbered, when on the alert, with useless and cumbrous ornaments. The tactics of the Mahrattas, who were ever on the *qui vive*, struck a dread in the Mogul forces, and the Emperor perceived it was necessary to revive the spirit of his troops. He sent Prince Cambuksh to attack Jingi, but, as was his wont, detached Asad Khan and his father, Zoolfikar Khan, to serve with and watch him, and so disgusted all parties. Santaji Gopara advanced to raise the siege, and Prince Cambuksh was induced to join him, but the other imperial commanders finding out the plot, arrested him. The siege was raised, and the Moguls retired disheartened. Aurungzib again interfered, and leaving Zoolfikar Khan to command, re-called Cambuksh and Asad Khan. Zoolfikar took Jingi, but Rajah Ram was allowed to escape; Santaji Gopara was soon after

murdered, and the Emporor attacked Sattara, which place fell in A. D. 1700. Rajah Ram died before its fall, being succeeded by his son Sevaji. For five years more the war continued, and on the whole the Moguls were successful. Aurungzib was now 81 years of age, and he had to suffer many hardships. In spite of all the luxury in his camp, the violent heat and the constant failure of water and supplies bore heavily on his enfeebled constitution. Notwithstanding his many anxieties, he retained his vigour, and "alone conducted every branch of his government in the "minutest detail." He indeed mistrusted every one, and seems to have managed each petty matter, which would have been more easily arranged by his ministers. The truth was, he remembered the treatment he had dealt out to his own father, and was determined that no son of his should wrest away from him the power he had so iniquitously won. The Royal Princes were surrounded by spies, and he took care to hear from their colleagues all that they were concerned in. To his own officials he was courtly and considerate, desiring to bind those about his person to his interest, but he was remarkably unsuccessful in winning any one's attachment. Prince Moazzim, after release from his seven years' imprisonment, was sent to govern the remote province of Cabul, and all his sons were treated in a similarly cautious spirit.

To return to the state of the kingdom. The Rajpoots and Jats were still in open rebellion, and the Mahrattas, after reducing the Dekkan to a desert, had spread over Malwa and Guzerat, leaving everywhere pillaged towns, ravaged fields, and smoking villages, and they now began to recover their forts. The Mogul troops became more timid, and the commissariat arrangements failed, as the treasury became empty—vast remittances were sent from Hindostan, but the finances were in complete disorder. The troops began

to murmur, and the Emperor said if they didn't like his service they might quit it. The Mahrattas meanwhile drew round his army and treated the Moguls with derision.

Aurungzib retreated to Ahmednugger; "all hurried on "in disorder and dejection, deafened by the incessant firing "kept up by the marksmen, alarmed by the shouts and "charges of the lancers, and every moment expecting a "general attack to complete their dispersion and destruction." It was with difficulty the Emperor escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. "Ahmednugger, from whence "twenty years before he had marched with so much power "and splendour on his conquests, received the remains of "his ruined greatness, and was soon to witness the close of "his earthly career." He rapidly sank, and from his letters we may gather "the failure of his hopes in this world and "dread of that to come. The remembrance of Shah Jehan "seemed to haunt him more than ever; he nowhere ex-"presses his remorse for his share in that monarch's fate, "but he shows by all his actions how much he fears that a "like measure may be meted out to him." He expired on the 21st of February 1707, in the 89th year of his age, and 50th of his reign.

This sovereign was never guilty of any liberal or generous sentiments, and he alienated his subjects by his narrow views on religion, and his officers by his system of espionage and distrust. It appears that no Hindoo in his empire ever suffered death, imprisonment, or loss of property for his religion; "yet such is the effect of mutual jealousy and ani-"mosity in matters of religion, that the most violent outrages "have seldom raised up so obstinate a spirit of resistance "as was engendered by the partiality and prejudices of this "Emperor. His government was a system of continual mis-"trust, every man's character is secretly investigated, and "colleagues are so selected that each may be a check on his

"neighbour, yet there never was a Prince so cheated or so "ill-served." He is described as being of low stature and slender, with a slight stoop; he had a long nose and rounded beard; his countenance being cheerful and smiling. "Of "all the Kings of India, Aurungzib is the most admired "among the Mussulmans. There are few who are quite "blind to the lustre of Akber's character, but fewer still "whose deliberate judgment would not give the preference "to Aurungzib." *

A. D. 1707.—*Bahadur Shah.*—As soon as Prince Azim heard of his father's death, he was within a week proclaimed sovereign of all India. Prince Moazzim, the heir-apparent, assumed the crown at Cabul, with the title of Bahadur Shah. The two brothers met in battle near Agra, Bahadur Shah being the victor. Prince Cambuksh had admitted the sovereignty of Azim, but refused to acknowledge his conqueror; he was however defeated near Hyderabad, soon after dying of his wounds (1708). In the Mahratta States, Saho, the son of Sambaji, having grown up, contended with Tara Bai, the son of Raja Ram, for the crown. Daud Khan Panni was left in charge of the Dekkan by the Moguls, and in a meeting with Saho, he agreed that the "*chouth*" should be paid while he remained in office, and this arrangement kept the Mahrattas quiet. The Rajpoots conspiring once again, the Emperor in person marched against them, but hearing of the revolt of the Sikhs in Sirhind, he made peace and proceeded to crush the new insurgents.

Nanuk Chund, at the end of the 15th century, had founded this sect, who maintained that devotion was due to God, but that forms were immaterial. Their spiritual chief was put to death in A. D. 1606, and under Hur Govind, son of the murdered pontiff, they rose in arms, but were expelled from

* In this reign the English attacked the empire on both sides of India, but no particular mention is made of these occurrences.

Lahore, and had to take refuge in the mountains. Gooroo Govind, the tenth chief from Nanuk, in A. D. 1675 formed them into a religious and military confederacy; he abolished all distinctions of caste, and instituted a peculiar dress and peculiar manners. Each follower of his was always to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, and never to cut or clip a hair on his body. Respect was maintained for Brahmins and the Hindoo gods, and slaughter of kine was forbidden; their religion in fact being a purer Hindooism than elsewhere existed in India. So effectual have the changes been in this people, that they have even "now as distinct a national character as any of "the original races in India." They are tall and thin, devoted to pleasure, being frank and sociable; all thorough soldiers, but no longer fanatics. At the time referred to, they were overpowered, but a gloomy spirit of revenge broke out in the conquered race, under a new chief, named Bandu, they ravaged Sirhind with every accompaniment of barbarity. At Saharunpore they were checked and fell back to Loodianah, from whence they issued Southward to invade the country round Lahore and Delhi. The Emperor marched against them and defeated them, but Bandu escaped. They were, however, only subdued for the time, and were again becoming powerful, when Bahadur Shah died at Lahore in the 71st lunar year of his age and 5th of his reign.

A. D 1712.—Jehander Shah succeeded his father, after the usual conflicts with his brothers. Zoolfikar Khan was made vizier, and assumed complete control of the government. One of Jehander Shah's first acts was to put all his relatives to death, but his nephew, Farokshir, escaped, and threw himself on the protection of Hossein Ali, the Governor of Behar. The Emperor was sunk in bebauchery, and on Farokshir's advancing against him, he was defeated and fled in disguise back to Delhi to the house of Assad Khan, father

of his vizier. The two traitors gave up the fugitive, but this proceeding availed Zoolfikar but little, for both he and Jehander Shah were slain together with many others of the nobles.

A. D. 1713.—Farokshir ascended the throne at once, and the family of the Seiads, who had so helped him, rose immediately to great influence and power; but the Emperor was jealous of them, and spent his whole reign in plotting their overthrow. To weaken their influence, one of the brothers, Hossein Ali, was sent against Ajit Singh, Rajah of Marwar, and Farokshir had actually the foolishness to write to his enemies to make a good stand against his own General. Peace was however concluded, and the Emperor's designs were overthrown, but so apparent was his perfidy, that the Seiads determined to bring matters to an issue, and the sovereign, thoroughly alarmed, submitted to their demands. Farokshir's great friend, Mir Jumla, was sent to Behar as governor, and was thus removed out of the way. Abdoollah Khan acted as vizier, and Hossein Khan undertook the government of the Dekkan; but hardly had the latter set out on his journey, when Farokshir's machinations re-commenced, and he instructed Daud Khan Panni to do all he could to accomplish Hossein's destruction; this was to be done secretly, but Daud Khan little understood such underhand work, and hardly had Hossein Khan set forth in the Dekkan than he found himself furiously attacked. The fortunes of the day wavered long, but victory at last settled on the standards of the Seiad, and Daud Khan was defeated and slain.

A. D. 1716.—The Sikhs under Bandu invaded the Mogul territory again, and ravaged the country far and wide; at last they were defeated by Abdusemed Khan, and their leader, with 740 miserable captives, were brought to Delhi. All the prisoners, except Bandu, were beheaded: for him a more horrible death was reserved. His child was butchered before his

eyes and its heart thrown in his face, and he himself was torn to death with hot pincers. He died with "unshaken con- "stancy, glorying in having been raised up by God to be a "scourge to the iniquities and oppressions of the age." It was long after this before the Sikhs regained any thing of their power. Hossein Khan meanwhile continued his operations in the Dekkan, but met with little success; he made terms with Rajah Saho, and agreed to acknowledge his claim to Sevaji's territory with the addition of all later conquests, and among other conditions to allow the levy of the "*chouth*," or one-fourth of the revenue over the whole of the Dekkan.

Hossein Khan's object was gained, and he returned to Delhi, where he felt his presence was sorely needed; the treaty, however, was not ratified by Farokshir, which refusal only hastened the crisis of the dispute between him and the Seiads. Mir Jumla suddenly appeared on the scene, pretending he had been obliged to flee from his own government, but the Seiads compelled the Emperor to send him to Mooltan. Farokshir and his chief nobles now entered into a conspiracy to rid themselves of the Seiads, but the Emperor's levity and irresolution disgusted the others, and Jei Singh, one of the chief malcontents, came to terms with Abdoollah Khan, the elder of the Seiads, and Hossein Khan at once marched on Delhi to reinforce his brother. It was evident that no reliance could be placed on Farokshir, and Hossein Khan's guards having seized the palace, he was dragged out from his seraglio and put to death—(A. D. 1719).

In this reign Aurungzib's capitation tax was levied, but the resistance was so great that the tax was soon after formally abolished. On Farokshir's death, the Seiads set up a young Prince of the blood royal, to whom they gave the title of Rafi-o-Dirjat, but he and another Prince who succeeded him, Rafi-o-Doula, died almost immediately they ascended the throne, and a third candidate was selected in

the person of Roushen Akber, who, on his ascension, assumed the name of Mahomed Shah. Mahomed Shah commenced his reign under no auspicious circumstances, for insurrections broke out everywhere, and the Seiads, to make matters worse, quarrelled among themselves.

Chin Kilich Khan, well known as Asof Jah, and whose descendants are now Nizams of the Dekkan, was the Viceroy of the Dekkan. He had clung to the party of the Seiads, but on the death of Farokshir, he was only made Governor of Malwa. Disgusted at this treatment, he rapidly collected troops and soon gained over the whole of the Dekkan and defeated the army of the Seiads (A. D. 1720). Meanwhile the new Emperor avoided any show of opposition to those who had raised him to the throne, though he secretly endeavoured to free himself from their power, but the Seiads, perplexed as they were at the turns things were taking, determined to retain the Emperor in their own hands, and Hossein Khan proceeded towards the Dekkan in company with Bahadur Shah; but being assassinated, the party of the Seiads was left without a head, and made their submission to the Emperor. The other great leader of the Seiads proclaimed one of the Princes confined in Delhi as the real sovereign, and assembled an army in his name. He was however defeated and made prisoner, but his life was spared, which was probably owing to his descent from the Prophet. The monarchy was now in a state of rapid decline, and Ajit Sing, with his Rajpoots, advanced, plundering to within fifty miles of Delhi. Asof Jah then took the post of vizier, but the Emperor did not hesitate to show his dislike to him, and he was sent against Heidur Culi, the Ruler of Guzerat. The insurrection was soon quelled, and Asof Jah returned to Delhi, but disgusted with the habits of the imperial court, he sent in his resignation of the viziership and set out for the Dekkan. Mobariz Khan, the Governor of Hyderabad, was induced to endeavour to supplant him, but

Asof Jah, in the battle that ensued, overthrew and slew him, and sent his head as a present to the Emperor; and ever after he conducted himself as an independent Prince. Saho had been confirmed as Rajah by the Mogul Court, but it suited the policy of Asof Jah to assist his rival Samba (A. D. 1713-16), whose prime minister was Balaji Wiswanath, a most able man, who died in 1720, leaving as his successor his son, Bají Rao, in the office of Peishwa, the second in the State, the Pirti Nidhi or delegate of the Rajah being the first. Saho was not of the hardy character that was so necessary in a Mahratta leader, whereas Baji Rao had a frank manner, never flinched from fatigue or danger, and was used to every hardship. The new Peishwa invaded Asof Jah's States, and so reduced him that he was compelled to renounce his connection with Samba. Asof Jah then gained over the Pirti Nidhi, and so worked on his fears and his jealousy of the Peishwa, that that officer, Dabari by name, assembled 30,000 men with the professed object of delivering the Raja from the thraldom of his minister; but Baji Rao met and overthrew him, Dabari being slain in the battle; his son was, however, confirmed in all his appointments.

Baji Rao could now have attacked Asof Jah, but he had the sense to see that it was far more to his advantage to come to a good understanding with him, which he did, and then entered Malwa in 1732, the government of which was in the hands of Mahomed Khan Bungush. The whole country was quickly taken possession of, and a considerable portion of Bundelkund was handed over to the conqueror in payment of his services to the Rajah of that State. Baji Rao now demanded from the imperial government a grant of the province of Malwa and all the country South of the Chumbul, with the cities of Muthra, Allahabad and Benares; and Asof Jah at last perceived that by leaving the Emperor alone to fight the Mahrattas, he was only weakening himself; but

before he could come to any determination, Baji Rao had advanced to within forty miles of Agra, while his light troops, under Malhar Rao Holkar, were ravaging the country beyond the Jumna; but the latter were attacked by Saadut Khan, Governor of Oudh, and driven back. Baji Rao then himself advanced, and of a sudden himself presented before the gates of Delhi (A. D. 1737), but hearing of the advance of Asof Jah he retired again into his own provinces, while Asof Jah was invested with full powers to call out the resources of the Mogul State: he could only assemble some 30,000 men, and with these troops, aided by Sufter Jung, the nephew of Saadut Khan of Oudh, he advanced against Baji Rao, finally entrenching his army close to Bhopal. The Mahrattas forced him to retreat, and he afterwards came to terms with the Peishwa, which were most disastrous for the Emperor.

And now occurred "one of those tremendous visitations, "which for a time render men insensible to all other considerations." It is not within the limits of this work to trace back the history of Nadir Shah, the great Persian warrior. He had risen from the position of a mere freebooter to be the actual head of the Persian monarchy, and deposing Tahmasp Shah, he formally assumed the title of King of Persia. Not long had he been seated on the throne before he perceived the utter weakness of the Mogul Empire, and he soon found a pretext to invade the dominions of his neighbour, who learnt to his dismay that the Persian armies had crossed the mountains and were advancing into the Punjab. Within a hundred miles of Delhi the rival sovereigns met. The Emperor had been joined by Asof Jah and Saadut Khan, but in the engagement which took place Asof Jah did not take any part. The Mogul army was completely defeated, Saadut Khan being taken prisoner. Asof Jah was sent to the Persian camp to offer submission, and was graciously received, but Nadir Shah compelled Mahomed Shah to join

him, and thus accompanied, he entered Delhi in March 1739. It is believed that the Persian King honestly endeavoured to prevent violence, placing his own guards to protect the rich nobles from the exactions of his soldiers; but the people rose and massacred the Persians wherever they could be found, the Indian nobles not striving in the least to take any care for those who had been sent for their own safety, but actually giving them up to be murdered by the populace. Nadir Shah long withheld his fierce anger, but one of his chiefs being killed at his side, he ordered a general massacre, and during one whole day the butchery went on, the city being fired in many places. At last the Emperor entreated him to give the order to stop the slaughter, and, wonderful to say, that order being given, so admirable was the discipline of the Persian army, it was at once obeyed. The city was glutted of its gold and jewels with all the imperial treasures, including the Peacock Throne. "Sleep and rest," says Scott, "forsook "the city. In every chamber and house was heard the cry "of affliction; it was before a general massacre, but now the "murder of individuals," alluding to the tortures inflicted on the inhabitants to extract treasure. All the country West of the Indus was ceded to the Persians, and Nadir Shah left Delhi, after seating Mahomed Shah once more on the throne. The booty carried off was estimated at some thirty millions of pounds of our money. After the departure of the Persians, deplorable was the state of the imperial city, ruined, deserted, and half burnt as it was, dead bodies lying in every direction, and terror depicted on every face. The army was destroyed, the treasury empty, and the Mahrattas were still threatening the South, while to add to all, the imperial court was split by internal dissensions. Baji Rao at once resumed offensive operations and attacked Nasur Jung, the second son of Asof Jah, who had been left in charge of his father's dominions, but he was defeated and died soon after (in A. D. 1746),

being succeeded as Peishwa by his eldest son, Balaji Rao, who took advantage of the weakness of the imperial court to make further demands for territory. His aid was called for by the Moguls to resist the encroachments of Raguji Bosla, and the Province of Malwa was given over to him. He then set out against Raguji, and drove him from Bengal, but the latter took advantage of subsequent troubles, and in A. D. 1751 he obtained from the Delhi government the cession of Cuttack and the annual payment of £120,000, as the "*chouth*" for Bengal. Asof Jah died in 1748, aged 77, and in the same year died Saho Rajah, leaving no heirs, which was afterwards the cause of great troubles to the Mahrattas. Balaji pretended that Saho had before his death abdicated in his favour, and he took possession of the government.

Ahmed Khan Dourani, originally the head of a frontier tribe, had extended his influence over the neighbouring tribes and country, and in A. D. 1747 had been declared King of Candahar. He modelled his court on that of Nadir Shah, with whom he had formerly served, and at the time referred to reigned over Balkh, Scinde, Cashmere and Beloochistan, and he now determined to invade Hindoostan. He soon occupied the Punjab, but was met by Ahmed Shah, the heir-apparent, and driven back to his own territory. A Viceroy was appointed over the Punjab, and Ahmed Shah turned homewards just in time to take possession of the throne, as Mahomed Shah expired soon after the battle that had been fought at Sirhind.

A. D. 1747.—*Ahmed Shah.*—This sovereign made Sufter Jung, son of Saadut Khan, his vizier; and a force was immediately organized to put down the Rohillas, whose power had become formidable; but Sufter Jung was defeated, and the Rohillas penetrated as far as Allahabad and set the Emperor at defiance. Sufter Jung then called in the aid of the Mah-

rattas, and with their assistance, the Rohillas were speedily driven back to the Himalayas, and in payment of the Mahrattas' services, they were allowed to levy their subsidy from the conquered territory, and many years elapsed ere the country recovered from their ravages. Ahmed Shah Dourani now again invaded the Punjab, and he not only obtained complete possession, but sent an ambassador demanding the cession of the province. The Moguls remembered the horrors of Nadir Shah's advance on Delhi, and complied with the demand. Sufter Jung made this a ground of complaint, but his real reasons for annoyance arose from his having been supplanted in the Emperor's favor by a eunuch named Jawid, and this man he cruelly assassinated in a very treacherous manner. Ahmed Shah was exasperated at this outrage, and the instrument he found to avenge him on the vizier was Ghazee-oodeen, (the eldest son of Asof Jah's eldest son, Ghazee-oodeen.) This man had been promoted by Sufter Jung himself to the position he held. "He was a specimen of such "of the Mogul courtiers as were not quite sunk in sloth. "Restless and ambitious, as skilful in dissembling his passions "as incapable of controlling them, he looked on perfidy and "murder as the natural means of attaining his ends, and was "as reckless of consequences as regardless of principle. He "resisted the vizier, and the result was a civil war carried on "actually for six months in the streets of Delhi!" The Mahrattas were as usual called in, and Sufter Jung made peace, retaining possession of Oudh and Allahabad. The Emperor however became more intolerant of Ghazee-oodeen than he had been of Sufter Jung, but he fell into a trap that he had laid for his subject, and setting out on pretence of hunting, but really intending to seize Ghazee-oodeen, when unawares, the latter suddenly turned on him and took him prisoner. He ordered the Emperor's eyes to be put out, as well as those of the Queen his mother; deposed Ahmed Shah, and fixed

on one of the Princes of the blood to succeed, who ascended the throne under the name of Alumgir II.

A. D. 1754.—*Alumgir II.*—Sufter Jung dying soon after this Prince's ascension, Ghazee-oodeen assumed the office of vizier; Shuja-oo-doulah, Sufter Jung's son, being left in possession of his father's territory. In a mutiny that arose in the imperial army, the vizier's life for a long time held on a thread, and he was dragged along the ground by his discontented soldiery; but being at last rescued, he ferociously ordered the massacre of the whole body of troops who were present at the time. He now, by an act of the grossest treachery, obtained possession of Lahore. He had betrothed himself to the daughter of Mir Manu, (the Viceroy of the Punjab, appointed by Ahmed Shah Dourani), and on the death of this Viceroy, Ghazee-oodeen declared he was desirous of having the marriage ceremony performed; but no sooner had he arrived in Lahore than he took possession of the city and carried off the mother of his intended wife. Ahmed Shah Dourani, roused to vengeance by this perfidy, immediately advanced on Delhi, and once more the unfortunate capital was deluged in blood (A. D. 1756.) The Fort of Bullubgurh was taken and its defenders put to the sword, and Muttra was attacked while a religious festival was being held, and all the votaries present were barbarously massacred. A Rohilla, by name Nujib-oo-doulah, was appointed by the conqueror as vizier in the place of Ghazee-oodeen, at the Emperor's request, but Ghazee-oodeen called in the aid of the Mahrattas, and supported by them he advanced on Delhi, which city fell after a month's siege. Shah Alum, the heir-apparent, and Nujib-oo-doulah were, however, sent to a place of safety before the gates were opened, and Ghazee-oodeen again assumed the post of vizier. In A. D. 1758 the Mahrattas, under Ragoba, took possession of the whole of the Punjab, the Douranis crossing the Indus without

attempting to resist, and now the Mahrattas had risen to an influence and power that they had not ever before attained to; they devised a plan with Ghazee-oodeen for the capture of Oudh, speaking unreservedly of their intended conquest of the whole of India. Shuja-oo-doulah combined with Nujib-oo-doulah and the Rohillas, and when the Mahrattas under Govind Rao Bondela invaded Rohilkund, they were met by Shuja-oo-doulah, who drove them with heavy loss across the Ganges, and a peace was hastily concluded, as the Mahrattas heard of the march of Ahmed Shah Dourani on the Punjab. He indeed entered that province in 1759, and crossed the Jumna near Saharunpore; Ghazee-oodeen, remembering the connection between the Emperor and Ahmed Shah Dourani, considered it expedient to get rid of the former, and therefore ordered his assassination, raising another member of the royal family to the vacant post (A. D. 1759.) This prince's title was however never acknowledged. Ahmed Shah Dourani meanwhile steadily advanced, and coming suddenly on a large force under Dataji Scindia completely defeated it. The other division under Milhar Rao Holkar commenced its flight to the country South of the Chumbul, but was overtaken, and almost utterly destroyed by a Dourani detachment sent for the purpose. The Mahratta power may now be said to have arrived at its zenith, and this power was almost entirely vested in the hands of the Peishwa. Their territory extended to the Indus and the Himalayas while the forces at their command were large and well disciplined, and the misfortune of Scindia and Holkar but urged them to renewed exertions, and it was determined to at once complete the conquest of Hindoostan. Sedasheo Bhao, as the commander-in-chief, advanced on Delhi with a vast army, but the tactics of the Mahrattas were no longer as of old, and the system as formerly adopted, of moving in light bodies and harrassing the enemy, ever giving way when

attacked, was lost sight of altogether. The effects of this falling off from their ancient mode of warfare were soon apparent, the strength of the Mahrattas lying more in the swiftness and suddenness of their attack and rapidity of retreat, than in any skill or strategy in pitched battles; they were in fact fast following the example of the Moguls whom they had so long despised, and the army deteriorated in consequence. Delhi was easily taken, and a very ungenerous use of the conquest was made, for the tombs, palaces, and shrines were defaced, and the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience was torn down and melted into Rs. 1,700,000! while even the royal ornaments left were seized. Ahmed Shah Dourani was at this time cantoned on the frontiers of Oudh; he gained over Nujib-oo-doulah and the Rohillas, and at last induced Shuja-oo-doulah to join him. This confederacy took place in A. D. 1760, and the Douranis then marched to meet Sedasheo Bhao, who retired to Paneeput, where he threw up strong earth-works round his camp, which was protected by many guns. It is said the troops inside his lines amounted with their followers to over 300,000 men! Ahmed Shah Dourani had 40,000 Affghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and about 38,000 foot soldiers; the greater part of these were however a mere rabble; he also encamped and threw up lines round his army. The Mahrattas under Govind Rao attempted their usual tactics with some 12,000 horse, but a body of cavalry from the Dourani camp made a forced march of 60 miles, surprised the enemy, and completely destroyed them. The resources of the Mahrattas were now being cut off, and penned up as they were in their lines, they began to feel the pressure of want. The Dourani chief never relaxed his vigilance, and seems indeed to have been a most able commander; he soothed the anxiety of his troops, who were desirous of attacking the vast army before them, and carefully guarded the enemies' supplies from ap-

proaching, ever personally seeing to the safety of his camp. "His orders," says Casa Rai, his contemporary, "were obeyed "like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment "in executing them." The Mahrattas then attempted to treat, but the Shah declined having anything to do with them, and replied to their overtures that the Hindoostanee chiefs could treat if they desired to do so, but Nujib-oo-doulah kept the latter from listening to the Mahratta proposals, moved to this, as he dreaded the power of that nation, should the Shah leave before they were humbled.

That humbling was not far off, for the sufferings of the Mahratta host were now dreadful. One last effort was made to procure forage and food, but the whole of the convoy were cut to pieces; and, famished and diseased, the troops crowded round the Bhao's tent, demanding to be led against the enemy. He yielded to the request, and orders were given to prepare for the combat. This celebrated battle was fought on January 6th 1760. The Mahrattas at first obtained the advantage, but at a most critical period Ahmed Shah brought up his reserve, and directed a division on his left to take the enemy in flank. This decided the fate of the day; the Mahrattas turned and fled, no quarter being given, and the infuriated peasantry slaughtered them by thousands. The Bhao was believed to have perished with many other great chiefs, the number of the slain being computed at 200,000. Holkar left the battle when he saw it going against his side. Scindiah was desperately wounded and lamed for life.

Ahmed Shah, curious to say, never attempted to profit by his victory, nor did he afterwards take any share in the affairs of India.

The Mahratta empire fell with the shock of this great defeat, and the Mogul empire no longer existed; its territory was broken into independent States, and the history

of the Sovereigns of Delhi may be said to be concluded. The history of India, as told by Elphinstone, ends here, but a brief notice of the facts that were of interest between Shah Alum's accession to the throne and the present time, may as well be added.

Shah Alum.—The course of events threw the Emperor into the hands of the English, while he was attempting to subdue Bengal. Allahabad was assigned to him as a residence, with £260,000 a-year for maintenance, and his Viceroy in Delhi, Nujib-oo-doulah, took care of his interest there, till he was induced, in A. D. 1771, to re-enter the imperial city, where, however, on his arrival, he found himself in the hands of the Mahrattas, and compelled to do as they pleased. The court became the scene of anarchy and confusion, and the Emperor was powerless to do anything to stop the horrible butcheries that were committed. He at last determined to remove to Agra, impelled to take this step by the insolence and arrogance of one of the great nobles, Afrasiab Khan. At Agra this man was assassinated by order of Madhoji Scindia, upon whom was conferred the vacant office of Ameer-ool-Omrah, but Gholam Khadir, the son of one of the blood-thirsty murderers about the court, immediately on coming into his estate, rose in rebellion, and taking advantage of a defeat that the Mogul and Mahratta forces had just received from the Rajah of Jynagur, he advanced on Delhi. Through the misconduct, if not treachery of the Governor, he obtained admittance and immediately demanded from the Emperor the viziership, but the Begum Sumroo and other adherents of the falling dynasty came to the rescue of their sovereign, and the rebel was compelled to retire to his camp, from whence he commenced to bombard the city. The Nazir of the Emperor now traitorously informed Gholam Khadir of the advance of the heir-apparent, Jewun Bukt, and seeing that for the present the game was played

out, he made his submission and received a free pardon (at the Nazir's suggestion) just as Jewun Bukt arrived on the scene. The Emperor distrusted his son, just as his predecessors had always suspected the heirs to the throne, and the base insinuations of the Nazir widened the breach. The Prince saw he had lost his father's favour, and shortly after retired to Benares, but to die of fever. Gholam Khadir and another worthy associate of his, by name Ismail Beg, now determined to depose the Emperor and plunder the palace; and marching on Delhi they entered without meeting any resistance from the Mahratta garrison. A treaty was drawn up, in which Gholam Khadir swore most solemnly to assist the Emperor and be his devoted servant. Shah Alum signed the treaty, which contained a proviso that Gholam Khadir was to have the management of the affairs of the kingdom, and directly Gholam Khadir had got what he required, he disarmed the palace guards and filled the palace with his troops, and his diabolical nature now showed itself. It is credibly told that he flogged the ladies of the zenana and handed them over to the tender mercies of his rabble crew. Certain it is that while himself lolling on the royal throne, he insolently ordered the aged Emperor to be brought before him, and demanded from him his treasures. On Shah Alum's bitterly declaring his state of utter destitution, he savagely swore he would put his eyes out if the hidden hoards were not produced, and, leaping from his seat, he hurled the Emperor to the ground, planted his knee upon his chest, and struck out one of his victim's eyes, ordering the other eye to be put out also. The descendant of Timour had indeed sunk low ! The atrocities committed by this villain cannot be detailed, but he met with a punishment even more than commensurate with his crimes. Scindia, hearing of all these horrors, at once sent an army to the relief of Delhi, but Gholam Khadir escaped to Meerut

with his plunder, taking with him the Nazir as a close prisoner. The Mahratta chief, Rana Khan, invested the fort, wherein the rebel had taken refuge, and so vigilant were his forces that the besieged sorely pressed began to mutiny, and Gholam Khadir, to avoid being given up, cut his way through the enemy with 500 horse, and so escaped for the time. But the doomsman was on his track; his attendants soon left him, and his horse stumbling threw him so violently that he lay half-stunned till found by a peasant, who recognized the prostrate ruffian as the man who had once before wronged him. He was seized and carried to Rana Khan's camp, and, loaded with manacles, was carried at the head of the army, mid the curses, insults and indignities of his captors. "His eyes were torn from their sockets, "and his nose, ears, hands and feet were gradually cut off "till the wretch sunk under his sufferings." (*Beresford's Delhi.*) The Nazir was, by Scindia's order, trampled to death by elephants; Shah Alum was then once more reinstated with every pomp and ceremony, but Scindia retained all the power in his own hands, and only £5,000 a year were allowed for the maintenance of the imperial household, which, it is said, proved such an insufficient sum, that the Emperor was actually sometimes in want of food. In 1803 the British Government, expecting a rupture with the Mahrattas, assembled a large force near Kanouj, and Allygurh fell into their hands after an obstinate defence on the 11th September 1803. The British troops marched towards Delhi, defeated the French under M. Louis Bourquien (one of M. Perron's Generals,) and encamped near the Jumna opposite the city. The commander-in-chief of the British was congratulated by the Emperor on his victory, and he paid a visit to Shah Alum, crowds of rejoicing people assembling to witness the procession. In 1804, Holkar besieged Delhi, but the city was obstinately defended by

Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident, and Colonel Burn, who commanded the Garrison. On the 10th October, a sally was made, and great loss inflicted on the enemy, and though after this the place was so vigorously cannonaded, that, had it been attacked, it would probably have fallen, on the 15th October Holkar raised the siege, fearing the approach of the English reinforcements already on the road.

Shah Alum died a few years afterwards, and was succeeded in the nominal sovereignty by Akber Shah, whose son, Bahadur Shah, closed the line of the Emperors of the Mogul dynasty. The part this last sovereign took in the Mutiny of 1857 is but too well known; he ended his days in Burmah, and the only descendants of the House of Timour who now exist are a few distant branches of that once great family, the heads of which branches were faithful to the British Government in the terrible trial of the Rebellion.

PART III.

1—THE BUILDINGS OF MODERN DELHI.

1.—*The Fort or Palace in Delhi.*

This was commenced by the Emperor Shah Jehan in 1638; the circuit of its walls being, according to General Cunningham, 1½ miles, just about the size of the citadel of Toogluckabad. It is furnished with two fine entrances, named respectively the Delhi and Lahore Gateways, and is enclosed by a lofty wall of red sandstone, on which, at intervals, are pavilions of the same material. The entrance to the Lahore Gate is approached through an outwork. It consists of a large Gothic arch, "surmounted by a tower ornamented with pavilions, and within this tower were the "apartments belonging to the officer in charge of the Palace "Guards"—the unfortunate Captain Douglas, who held the

command in 1857, was brutally massacred, and of course there is no such appointment now, but the rooms are occupied by the officer commanding the artillery in the palace. The gateway, says Beresford in his work on Delhi, "leads in-"to a long and lofty vaulted aisle or vestibule, having an octa-"gonal opening near the centre for ventilation and the ad-"mission of light." The walls of this court were once covered with paintings of flowers, but being sadly out of repair, the whole have been white-washed, and the place has been otherwise furbished up. This grand vestibule leads into a court-yard, where stands what was once the Noubutkhanah or Music Gallery, and which is now used as an Adjutant's Office.

2.—*The Dewan A'am or Hall of Public Audience*

Is further on. "It is a large hall open at three sides "and supported by rows of red sandstone pillars formerly "adorned with gilding and stucco work. In the wall at "the back is a stair-case that leads up to the throne, which is "raised about ten feet from the ground, and is covered by a "canopy supported on four pillars of white marble, the whole "being curiously inlaid with mosaic work; behind the "throne is a doorway by which the Emperor entered from "his private apartments. The whole of the wall behind the "throne is covered with mosaic paintings in precious stones "of some of the most beautiful flowers, fruits, birds, and "beasts of Hindostan. Most of them are represented in "a very natural manner. They were executed by Austin "de Bordeaux, who, after defrauding several of the Princes "of Europe by means of false gems which he fabricated with "great skill, sought refuge at the court of Shah Jehan, "where he made his fortune and was in high favour with "the Emperor. In front of the throne, and slightly raised "above the floor of the hall, is a large slab of white marble, "which was formerly richly inlaid with mosaic work, of

"which the traces only now remain."—*(Beresford's Delhi, 1856.)*

3.—*The Dewan Khass or Hall of Audience,*

Peculiarly set apart for the reception of the nobility, is situated "to the East of the Dewan A'am, in a quadrangle of moderate "dimensions. The building is a very beautiful pavilion of "white marble supported on massive pillars of the same "material, the whole of which, with the connecting arches, "are richly ornamented with flowers of inlaid mosaic work of "different colored stones and gilding. It is raised on a ter-"race four feet high, the floor of which is composed of flags "of white marble. Between each of the front row of pillars "is a balustrade of marble chastely carved in several designs "of perforated work. The top of the building is ornamented "with four marble pavilions with gilt cupolas—the ceiling "of the pavilion was originally completely covered with silver "filagree work," but in 1759 the Mahrattas, under Sedasheo Bhao, after the capture of the city, took this down and melted it, the value of the same being estimated at £170,000. "In "the cornice at each end of the interior hall is sculptured, "in letters of gold and in the Persian language—'If there "'is a paradise upon earth, it is this, it is this.'"

"In this hall was the famous Peacock Throne, so called "from its having the figures of two peacocks standing be-"hind it, their tails being expanded, and the whole so inlaid "with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, pearls and other precious "stones of appropriate colours as to represent life. The "throne itself was six feet long by four feet broad; it stood "on six massive feet, which with the body, were of solid gold, "inlaid with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. It was sur-"mounted by a canopy of gold supported by twelve pillars, "all richly emblazoned with costly gems, and a fringe of "pearls ornamented the borders of the canopy. Between "the two peacocks stood the figure of a parrot of the ordi-

" nary size, said to have been carved out of a single eme-
rald (?) On either side of the throne stood a chatta or umbrella, one of the oriental emblems of royalty; they
" were formed of crimson velvet, richly embroidered and
" fringed with pearls, the handles were eight feet high, of
" solid gold, and studded with diamonds. The cost of this
" superb work of art has been variously stated at sums vary-
" ing from one to six millions of pounds sterling. It was
" planned and executed under the supervision of Austin de
" Bordeaux, already mentioned as the artist who executed
" the mosaic work in the A'am Khass."—(*Beresford's Delhi.*)

The Peacock Throne, with nearly all of the treasures in the imperial city, were taken away by Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror, who, defeating the reigning Emperor Mahomed Shah at Kurnaul in A. D. 1739, marched with that sovereign in his train into Delhi. The inhabitants were foolish enough to attack the Persian guards and slay some of the followers of the invader. A general massacre was ordered, and the whole city was given up to plunder.

4.—*The Pearl Mosque and King's Baths.*

Near the Dewan Khass is the Pearl Mosque used by the Royal Family; it is small, but beautifully finished, though, alas! the hand of the destroyer has done much to ruin the interior. The King's bath and the baths of the ladies of the zenana are contiguous, and are well worth seeing. Much of Mr. Beresford's description of the palace, written as it was before the mutiny, would hardly be of much use for the guidance of the visitor of the present day, but it is inserted here to show to what uses these buildings were once put, and what magnificent ornamentation was bestowed on them. The Marble Throne described by Beresford in the time of the mutiny suffered terribly; " the inland work on
" the pillars of green blood-stone foliage, together with the

"mosaics of birds and fruits, and the curious mosaics of "Orpheus charming the beasts with his music, the master-"piece of Austin de Bordeaux," (*General Cunningham*) have nearly all disappeared, but have been replaced by lac imitations.

5.—*The Jumma Musjid.*

The most famous mosque in the East, the Jumma Musjid, stands about half-way between the Cashmere and Delhi Gates of the city, and is close to the celebrated street called the Chandni Chouk. It is built on a rocky eminence called the Jujala Pahar, and is considerably elevated above the surface of the ground.

"It has three entrances by handsome gateways of red sand-"stone, which are approached by magnificent flights of steps "of the same material. The principal gateway is to the "East side, and is much longer and handsomer than those "on the North and South." This gateway is now closed by order of Government, and it is only a year or two ago that the mosque was restored to the Mahomedans. "They all "lead into a large quadrangle paved with fine large sandstones, "in the centre of which is a marble reservoir of water. On "the West side of the square stands the mosque itself, which "is of an oblong form, 201 feet in length and 120 feet broad, "and surmounted by three superb cupolas of white marble "crowned with culices or spires of copper richly gilt. The "front of the building is partly faced with white marble, and "along the cornice are the compartments each ten feet long "and two and a half feet broad, which are inlaid with black "marble inscriptions in the Niski character." (These give an account of the sums spent on the building.) "The interior "is paved throughout with slabs of white marble three feet "long by one and a half broad, each decorated with a black "border, which gives it an extremely beautiful appearance. "Part of the inner wall is also faced with plain white marble. "Near the kibla, or that part which indicates the direction

" of the city of Mecca, is a handsome Taq or niche adorned " with a profusion of rich frieze work, and though joined " in several places, appears to have been cut out of a solid " block of white marble four feet high and six feet in length. " The mosque is flanked by two minarets 130 feet high, com- " posed of white marble and red sandstone placed vertically in " alternate stripes, and access is obtained to the top of them by " flights of narrow steps of red sandstone in the interior; " at about equal distance there are three projecting galleries, " and they are crowned with light pavilions of white marble." From these very extensive views can be obtained. " Three " sides of the terrace, on which this magnificent edifice " stands, are enclosed by a colonnade of sandstone, and each " corner is ornamented by octagonal pavilions of white mar- " ble; the supporting columns being of red sandstone. In " the quadrangle at the North-east and South-east are low " pillars, on the top of which are fixed marble slabs, on one " of which is engraved the Eastern Hemisphere, on the other " there are marked certain hour lines; each has an upright " iron spike or gnomon, and the shadows shown by the sun " indicate to the faithful the time of prayer."—(*Beresford's Delhi*, 1856.) This splendid pile was commenced and finished in Shah Jehan's reign (A. D. 1629-58), and it is said to have cost over £100,000.

6.—*The Fort of Selimgurh.*

This is just outside the palace, the river separating the two: they are connected by a bridge.

Selimgurh was built by Selim Shah, the son of Shir Shah (commonly called the usurper.) It was completed, it is supposed, about A. D. 1546, before the present city of Delhi was in existence. The name of Nurgurh was given to it by the Emperor Humayon and his successors; this being the only name that was allowed to be used when speaking of it at court; but it always retained its original appellation,

and to this day is termed Selimgurh. After Shah Jehan's Palace was built, Selimgurh was used as a State prison, but it has now been turned into a military store-house.

7.—*The Kala or Kalan Musjid near the Turcoman Gate.*

The undermentioned description is from the records of the Archæological Society of Delhi of 1850. This Society no longer exists.

This Musjid was built by Feroz Shah, who reigned from A. D. 1351 to A. D. 1385, and it formed a part of his city of Ferozabad, which has been already noticed in the "Account of the Changes of Various Capitals" in Part I. *(also see 20)*. "A single room, 71 feet in length by 41 feet "in breadth, with two rows of four pillars each down the "centre, and one row of double pillars along the front. These "columns divide the whole area into 15 squares, each of "which is covered by a small dome, the central dome being "somewhat higher than the others. In front of the build-"ing there is an open quadrangle, and on three sides of this "there are cloisters." The mosque is considerably elevated, and the lower storey is let out to petty shop-keepers. The whole building is suffering from decay, but it is under orders for repairs, and the shop-keepers are to be turned out; there are four round towers at the corners, these are, however, in a very dilapidated state. Except by the lovers of old buildings, this mosque will hardly be considered worthy of a visit.

There are many other mosques, &c., in the city, but they are not of sufficient interest to the tourist to warrant any notice of them being here inserted.

II.—THE RUINS AND PRINCIPAL TOMBS, MOSQUES, &C., NEAR DELHI.

8.—*Kirkhee.*

A Fort, Village, and Musjid in one, very massively built by Khan Jehan about A. D. 1380, during the reign of Feroz Shah. "The Mosque of Kirkhee is an enormous structure,

" situated on high ground, and is built of dark-colored " granite, and cased all over with black chunam, which " gives it a very sombre appearance. It is a square, supported " at the four corners by towers nearly 50 feet high; has " two storeys, and is crowned with 89 small domes of very " plain but most solid construction. The whole building " is in excellent preservation, with the exception of the " North-east angle, the roof of which has fallen in, not however " from decay, but from the effects of a fire said to have occurred " some 70 years ago. The basement storey consists of 104 " small cells with arched ceilings, each cell being about 9 feet " square. There is also a cell beneath each door, and one in " each turret, making in all 112 cells. There are three doors " leading to the upper storey, *viz.*, to the South-east and " North—the latter is alone open now. As you enter in front " and to the right and left, there are triple cloisters supported " on single, double, and quadruple pillars."—(*From the Records of the Delhi Archæological Society*, 1850.) The building is now emptied of the inhabitants, who find accommodation outside. The gloomy aspect of the interior, and the massiveness of the walls, are very striking, and none of the old ruins around Delhi are more worthy of a visit than this Egyptian-like relic of Pathan architecture. It lies some three miles to the left of the road running from Delhi to the Kootub, and from the Kootub it is about four miles distant.

9.—*The Sut-poolla Bund, or Sixty-arched Embankment, close to Kirkhee.*

This was built by Sultan Feroz Shah, on his son Futteh Khan's death. " To divert his mind, his nobles induced " him to build the present bund or embankment, which " may still be traced from the village of Ladhoo Serai, " immediately under the Kootub, to the low hills to the " East of the village of Kirkhee, a distance of about two " miles."—(*Delhi Archæological Society's Records*, 1850.)

10.—*Begumpore Village,*

Probably contemporaneous with Kirkhee (*see* 8.) It is a curious old specimen of Pathan workmanship, a good deal larger than Kirkhee, it still presents so many features of general resemblance, that there is very little hesitation in putting the date of erection some time in Feroz Shah's reign (A. D. 1351 to A. D. 1385.) There is a massive entrance, approached by a flight of stairs, which are in a very dilapidated state. It lies about 800 yards to the left of the road leading from Delhi to the Kootub, and is some three miles from the latter.

11.—*Buddee Munzil or Boorj Mundul.*

The remains of a square tower and domed building close to the village of Begumpore (*see* 10), said to have been built by Feroz Shah, contemporaneous with Ferozabad (of which now hardly a trace remains.) (*See* 22.) The buildings are all more or less injured. The square fort is peculiar, there being nothing like it anywhere near Delhi; it is worthy of a visit.

12.—*The Village of Hous-Khass.*

This village lies some four or five miles to the North-east of the Kootub, and is approached most easily from Sufter Jung's Tomb (*see* 23.) There is no carriage road to it. It contains what is called Feroz Shah's bath or tank, and a tomb built by Mahomed Shah (A. H. 792.) The area of the bath is over a hundred beegahs, but it is now a complete ruin, the surface being used for cultivation. Feroz Shah, who died in A. D. 1388, is buried in a tomb in the village.

13.—*The Junter Munter or Observatory.*

The remains of several large buildings erected for astronomical purposes, some two miles from Delhi, on the Kootub road. The Observatory was erected by Rajah Jey Sing, of Jeypore, in the reign of Mahomed Shah. The following account is taken from Beresford's *Delhi* :—" The largest of

"the buildings is an immense equatorial dial named by the "Rajah the Semrat Yuuter or Prince of Dials: the dimen- "sions of the gnomon being as follows:—

		ft.	in.
"Length of	Hypothenuse	118	5
" "	Base ...	104	0
" "	Perpendicular	56	75 (?)

"This is now much injured. At a short distance, nearly in "front of the great dial, is another building in somewhat bet- "ter preservation; it is also a sun-dial, or rather several "dials combined in one building. In the centre is a staircase "leading to the top, and its side walls form gnomons "to concentric semi-circles, having a certain inclination to the "horizon, and they represent meridians removed by a certain "angle from the meridian of the Observatory. The outer walls "form gnomons to graduated quadrants, one to the East and "the other to the West. A wall connects the four gnomons, "and on its Northern face is described a large quadri- "lateral semi-circle for taking the altitudes of the celes- "tial bodies. Lying East and West to the South of the great "equatorial dial stand two circular buildings open at the "top, and each having a pillar in the centre; from the bot- "tom of the pillar thirty horizontal radii of stone, gra- "dually increasing in breadth till they recede from it, are "built to the circular wall; each of these forms a sector "of six degrees, and the corresponding spaces between "the radii being of the same dimensions, make up the "circle of 360 degrees. In the wall at the spaces between the "radii and recesses, on either side of which are square holes "at convenient distances, to enable the observer to climb to "such height as was necessary to read off the observation, "each of the recesses had two windows, or rather openings, "many of which have been since built up. On the edge of "the recesses are marked the tangents of the degrees of the

"sun's altitude, as shown by the shadow of the pillar, and "numbered from 1 to 45 degrees. When the sun exceeds that "height, the degrees are marked on the radii, numbered from "the pillar in such a manner as to show the complement of "its altitude; these degrees are sub-divided into minutes, "but the opposite spaces in the walls have no sub-division, "being merely divided into six parts of one degree each; the "shadow of the sun falling on either of the divisions show "the sun's azimuth; in like manner lunar and stellar altitudes "and azimuths may be observed. These two buildings, being "exactly alike in all respects, were doubtless designed to "correct errors by comparing the results of different obser- "vations obtained at the same instant of time."—(*Beresford's Delhi*, 1856.) The whole of these buildings are now in a state of ruin, and it is long since they have been used.

14.—*The Village of Roshun Chirag, Delhi.*

The walled town of Roshun Chirag, Delhi, is about four miles from the Kootub, in the Delhi direction. Roshun Chirag is a shrine erected to the memory of Sheikh Nasir-oodeen Mahomed, and was built by Feroz Shah, who reigned from A. D. 1351 to A. D. 1385. The tomb of Sultan Belol Lodi, who reigned from A. D. 1450 to A. D. 1488, lies behind that of the saint. The interior of the court is filled with various tombs more or less worthy of inspection, and kept in fair order. The town itself is a poor place, with nothing in it to recommend it to the notice of the visitor; it used to have three gateways, but two of these being considered unsafe were closed.

15.—*City of Toogluckabad.*

"This city may be described with tolerable accuracy "as a half-hexagon in shape, with three faces of rather "more than three-quarters of a mile in length each, and "a base of one mile and a half, the whole circuit being "only one furlong less than four miles. The fort stands

"on a rocky height, and is built of massive blocks of "stone, so large and heavy that they must have been "quarried on the spot. The largest stone which I observed "measured fourteen feet in length by two feet two inches "and one foot ten inches in breadth and thickness, and must "have weighed rather more than six tons. The short faces "to the North-west and East are protected by a deep ditch, "and the long face to the South by a large sheet of water, "which is held up by an embankment at the South-east cor-"ner. On this side the rock is scarped, and above it the main "walls rise to a mean height of forty feet with a parapet of "seven feet, behind which rises another wall of fifteen feet, "the whole height above the low ground being upwards of "nineteen feet. In the South-west angle is the citadel "which occupies about one-sixth of the area of the fort, and "contains the ruins of an extensive palace. The ramparts are "raised as usual on a line of domed rooms, which rarely com-"municate with each other, and which no doubt formed the "quarters of the troops that garrisoned the fort. The walls "slope rapidly inwards, even as much as those of Egyptian "buildings. The rampart walls are pierced with loop-holes, "which serve also to give light and air to the soldiers' quarters. "The parapets are pierced with low sloping loop-holes, which "command the foot of the wall, and are crowned with a line "of rude battlements of solid stone, which are also provided "with loop-holes. The walls are built of large plainly dressed "stones, and there is no ornament of any kind; but the vast "size, the great strength, and the visible solidity of the whole "give to Toogluckabad an air of stern and massive grandeur "that is both striking and impressive. The Fort of Toog-"luckabad has thirteen gates, and there are three inner gates "to the citadel; it contains seven tanks of water, besides the "ruins of several large buildings, as the Jumma Musjid and "the Boorj Mundur. The upper part of the fort is full of

"ruined houses, but the lower part appears as if it had never "been fully inhabited." (*General Cunningham.*)

Toogluckabad lies close to the village of Budderpore, about three and a half miles from the Kootub; a fair carriage road leads to it from the latter. It was commenced by the Emperor Toogluck Shah about A. D. 1321, and was finished—at any rate, as much finished as it is now—by A. D. 1323. Toogluck Shah was the son of a Turki slave of Gheias-oodeen Bulbun by an Indian mother. (Bulbun reigned from A. D. 1266 to A. D. 1288.) In A. D. 1321, he was the Governor of the Punjab, his name then being Toogluck Ghazi Khan. The Sovereign of Delhi, Mobarik Khilji, was assassinated by his vizier, who endeavoured to seat himself on the vacant throne. Toogluck Ghazi Khan refused, however, to acknowledge the usurper, and in a great battle that ensued, the latter lost his life, his army being defeated: none of the Khilji family having survived, the conqueror ascended the throne under the title of Toogluck Shah. He was a gallant soldier and an able sovereign, who "restored order in his "internal administration" (*Elphinstone*), and put his frontier into an effective state of defence.

He is said to have met his death by the treachery of his son, Jonah Fuqueer-oodeen, who succeeded him. In an audience with his son, the pavilion in which he was seated fell down, and he perished from the injuries he received, being succeeded by Jonah, who took the name of Mahomed Toogluck. The walls of Toogluckabad enclose a space equal to that embraced by the fortifications of Modern Delhi, and there is an open plain inside, which is five miles in circumference. It is probable that the city never was completed; there is every appearance of over-haste and hurry in the construction of the walls, and from the well-known fact of Toogluck Shah's successor commencing another city, it may reasonably be supposed that Toogluckabad is after all nothing

but a magnificent failure. The appearance of the fortifications is most striking, rising as they do to a height of over eighty feet: they tower over the adjacent lowlands with a sombre and tremendous majesty. The walls are crumbling and giving way in many places, the great weight of the upper stones having forced the lower ones out of their positions. The gateway, best adapted for the use of visitors, is the one exactly opposite the tomb of Toogluck Shah, which is about 300 yards from the city. Inside the walls is a vast well, which seems to have been cut out of the solid rock to a depth of some 70 or 80 feet: it is about 100 feet in diameter. The Sovereign's Palace, and the few traces that are left of other buildings, are separated by a wall from the rest of the city, which, indeed, hardly seems to have been at all built on.

Some account of Mahomed Toogluck Shah, who ascended the throne in A. D. 1325, may here be acceptable to the reader, as one or two of his works will presently have to be noticed. He was highly gifted with eloquence and distinguished for his munificence to the learned; regular in his devotions; an abstainer from wine; gallant in war, and in every way accomplished; yet he suffered under such a perversion of intellect, that all his talents were nullified, and it seems more than probable that he was partly insane. He first determined on the conquest of Persia, assembled a vast army, and then disbanded it; then he undertook to subdue China, and sent 100,000 men through the Himalayas; but they had to fall back, hardly a man escaping alive; upon which Mahomed Toogluck, for some inexplicable reason, ordered the massacre of all the soldiers who had been left in the garrisons as the army advanced. He next introduced a paper currency, and ruin fell on the people, who began to leave their lands, on which he ordered out his soldiers and hunted his subjects down as if they had been wild beasts. His nephew was flayed alive for insubordination, and various provinces revolt-

ing were entered by their sovereign, who ravaged the land as if it had been an enemy's. He twice compelled the inhabitants of the capital to start for Dowlutabad, which he intended to make his metropolis; famines succeeded, and the distress among his people became most dreadful. He died in A. D. 1351, "leaving a reputation," says Elphinstone, "of being "the most accomplished prince and the most furious tyrant "that ever reigned." He is still termed the Sooltan Khooni, or Bloody Sultan, in remembrance of his butcheries. He was succeeded by Feroz Shah, whose name is associated with so many structures, and who built more than any sovereign before or after him.

16.—*Huzar Seitoon, or the Thousand Pillars,*

Erected by Mahomed Toogluck. It is supposed to have been a sort of pavilion, and it is said to have had two, if not three storeys; but all that now remains is a heap of ruins, merely one or two of the pillars being left. Legends state that it was here Toogluck Shah met his death.

The Huzar Seitoon are close to Toogluckabad, between which and it there is a deep valley.

17.—*The Barber's House.*

This lies to the right of the road from Toogluckabad to Budderpore, and is close to the ruined city. It is said to have been built for Toogluck Shah's barber about A. D. 1323; it is now a mere ruin.

18.—*Toogluck Shah's Tomb.*

"The fine tomb of Toogluck Shah was built by his "son Mahomed. It is situated outside the South wall "of Toogluckabad, in the midst of the artificial lake, "and is surrounded by a pentagonal outwork, which is "connected with the fortress by a causeway 600 feet in length, "supported on 27 arches. In plan the tomb is a square of "38½ feet interior, and 61½ feet exterior dimensions. The

" outer walls are 38½ feet in height to the top of the bat- " tlement, with a slope of 2,333 inches per foot. At this " rate the whole slope is 7½ feet by 38½ feet. The walls at " the base are 11½ feet thick and at top only 4 feet, but the " projecting mouldings of the interior increase the thickness " of the wall at the springing of the dome to about 6 or " 7 feet, or perhaps more. The diameter of the dome " is about 34 feet inside, and about 44 feet outside, with a " height of 20 feet. The whole height of the tomb to " the top of the dome is 70 feet, and to the top of the pinna- " cle about 80 feet. Each of the four sides has a lofty door- " way in the middle 24 feet in height, with a pointed horse- " shoe arch fretted on the outer edge. There is a smaller " doorway only 5 feet 10 inches in width, but of the same " form, in the middle of the great entrances, the archway " being filled with a white marble lattice screen of bold pat- " tern. The decoration of the exterior depends chiefly on " difference of colour, which is effected by the free use of " bands and borders of white marble on the large sloping " surface of red-stone. The horse-shoe arches are of white " marble, and a broad band of the same goes completely " round the building at the springing of the arches. Another " broad band of white marble in upright slabs, four feet in " height, goes all round the dome just above its springing. " Inside the mausoleum there are three tombs, which are " said to be those of Toogluck Shah, his queen, and their son, " Junah Khan, who took the name of Mahomed when he " ascended the throne. The cruelties of this sovereign were " witnessed by his cousin and successor, Feroz Toogluck, who " adopted one of the most curious expedients which the mind " of man has ever conceived for obtaining the pardon of his " tyrannical predecessor. I quote the words of Feroz him- " self, as given by Ferishta, from the inscriptions of the great " mosque at Ferozabad :—' I have also taken pains to dis-

"cover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered "from the wrath of my late lord and master, Mahomed Toog-"luck, and, having pensioned and provided for them, have "caused them to grant full pardon and forgiveness to that "prince, in the presence of the holy and learned men of "this age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed "to the document, the whole of which, as far as lay in "my power, have been procured and put into a box and "deposited in the vault in which Mahomed Toogluck is "entombed.' This strange device of placing the vouchers "in the tomb ready for the dead man's hand to pick up "at the last day is as bold as it is original. It would "be interesting to read some of these documents, which are "in all probability still quite safe, as all the tombs appear "to be in the most perfect order. This tomb is well worth "visiting."—*(General Cunningham.)*

19.—Feroz Shah's Lât or Pillar.

"As the pillar at present stands, I found the total height "to be 42 feet 7 inches, of which the sunken portion is only "4 feet 1 inch; but the lower portion of the exposed shaft "to a height of 5 feet is still rough, and I have little doubt, "therefore, that the whole of the rough portion, 9 feet in "length, must have been sunk in the ground on its original "site. When the pillar was at last fixed, the top was orna-"mented with black and white stone-work, surmounted by a "gilt pinnacle, from which, no doubt, it received its name of "Minar Zarin or Golden Pillar. This gilt pinnacle was still "in its place in A. D. 1611, when William Finch entered "Delhi, as he describes the stone pillar of Bimsa, which, after "passing through three several storeys, rises 24 feet above "them all, having on the top a globe surmounted by a crescent. "The golden pillar is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone "42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35

"feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the "remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25 feet "3 inches,* and its lower diameter 38 feet 8 inches; its "weight is rather more than 27 tons." * * * "There are two "principal inscriptions on Feroz Shah's Pillar, besides several "minor records of pilgrims and travellers from the first cen- "tury of the Christian era down to the present time. The "oldest inscriptions for which the pillar was originally erected "comprise the well-known edicts of Asoka, which were "promulgated in the middle of the third century B. C., in "the ancient Pali or spoken language of the day. The "alphabetical character, which are of the oldest form that has "yet been found in India, are most clearly and beautifully "cut, and there are only a few letters of the whole record "lost by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The "inscription ends with a short sentence, in which King "Asoka directs the setting up three monolinths in different "parts of India, as follows:—'Let this religious edict be "engraved on stone pillars and stone tablets, that it may "endure for ever.'"—(*General Cunningham.*)

Asoka seems to have lived about 270 B. C.; he was the son of Bindusarra, and was brought up as a Brahmin, but he turned Buddhist.

This stone pillar is just outside the Delhi Gate of the city, and was placed in its present position by the Emperor Feroz Shah, who reigned from A. D. 1351 to A. D. 1385. The pillar is, as will be seen from the above, of great antiquity. Fergusson, in his work on architecture, considers that this was one of seven pillars that were erected, probably, at the entrance of various temples, on each of which edicts, containing the principal doctrines of Buddhism, were carved. The Hindoo legend is that this, with another great stone, were the walk-

* This must surely be an error. At a rough calculation the upper diameter cannot be above 2 feet, and the lower one is certainly not above 3 feet 8 inches.—A. H.

ing-sticks of their shepherd god, and their theory was that this particular pillar could not be removed from its resting-place in Kumaon till the day of Judgment. Feroz Shah hearing this, to confound the Hindoos, ordered the removal of the stone and had it set up in its present place, which was in the precincts of his palace in the new City of Ferozabad. (*See* 20.) Traditions have it that twice as much of the stone is concealed as there is shown, but this is known to be an error. There are various inscriptions on the pillar, the top of which is broken off.*

20.—*Remains of the City of Ferozabad.*

General Cunningham remarks:—"The most extensive work "of Feroz was the building of the new City of Ferozabad, "with the two palaces of Kushak Ferozabad and Kushak "Shikar. The new city was begun in A. D. 1354; it ex-"tended from the Fort of Indraput (*see* 28) to the Kushak "Shikar or Hunting Palace, a length of five koss. Now the "distance from Old Delhi is said to be also five koss, which "fixes the position of the Kushak Shikar approximately on "the low range of hills to the North-west of the Modern Shah-"jehanabad (Delhi). But the exact position is absolutely "determined by the mention that the second stone pillar from "Meerut was erected within the precincts of the palace, as the "stone pillar is now lying in five pieces on the top of the hill "close to Hindoo Rao's house. Shams-i-siraj adds that the "whole distance from Indraput to the Kushak Shikar was "occupied by stone houses, mosques, and bazaars, but as the "limits noted above include the whole of the Modern Shah-"jehanabad, it is very improbable that the entire space was "actually occupied. It is certain, however, that some consi-"derable portion of the site of Shahjehanabad was well

* A great deal has been said of the great size of this stone but it is nothing to the great masses of granite in St. Isaac's, at St. Petersburgh, Russia. These are four in number, are 56 feet in height and 7 feet in diameter.

"populated, as the Kala Musjid (*see* 7), which was built in "Feroz Shah's reign, is situated at some distance within the "Turcoman Gate of the present city. But even, if thinly "inhabited, the population of Ferozabad could not have "been less than that of Shahjehanabad, as it was more "than double its size. The number of inhabitants would, "therefore have been about 150,000, and if we add 100,000 "more for the population of Old Delhi, the total number of "inhabitants in the Indian Metropolis, during the reign of "Feroz Shah must have amounted to one quarter of a million." General Cunningham also makes mention of the Palace of Ferozabad, which formed the citadel of the new city. One of these gateways still exists between the well-known Lal Durwaza and the stone pillar; he terms it "a fine specimen of "this bold but rude architecture." The shape of the citadel cannot now be traced, and remarks "that the Kabuli Gate, or "Lal Durwaza, as it is now called from its red colour, is of "quite a different style of architecture, and belongs, as I "believe, to the time of Shir Shah, of whose city (*see* 12) it "formed the Northern or Cabul Gate." The remains of this city lie around the stone pillar (*see* 19); it was of vast extent, and was named after the builder, Feroz Shah, who reigned from A. D. 1351 to A. D. 1385. The walls and outlines of the larger buildings are still extant, and there is one mosque close to the high road in tolerable repair. It is said there is a treasure-well in the ruins, with subterranean passages and chambers, and that some of these passages have outlets on the Jumna. Ferozabad began to decline in A. D. 1416, and it is known that in A. D. 1533 the Emperor Humayon removed his seat of government close to where he was eventually buried, adjoining the village of Arab-ke-Serai, four miles from Delhi. A full account of Feroz Shah's city can be seen in the *Journal of the Delhi Archæological Society* for 1850.

21.—*Remains of Delhi Shir Shah.*

This city extended from the neighbourhood of Humayon's tomb on the South, to Feroz Shah's Kotila or Lât (*see* 19) on the North, near which there still exists a fine massive gateway, which was the Kabuli Durwaza of the new city: it is now called the Lal Durwaza or Red Gate.

" William Finch, who entered Delhi from the Agra side " on the 16th January 1611, describes the city as being two " koss in length from gate to gate, surrounded by a wall " which has been strong, but is now in ruins. Finch's koss " is estimated at rather over 1½ miles, by his mention that " the hunting seat or Mole (that is Mahal of Feroz Shah) was " two koss from the city. From the Lal Durwaza to the ruins " of the Kushak Shikar, the distance is three and a quarter " miles, and from the same point to Humayon's Tomb (*see* " 36) the distance is exactly three miles. But as Purchas, on " the authority of other English travellers, states that " Humayon's Tomb was in the city of Shir Shah Selim, the " South Gate of the city must have been somewhere beyond " the tomb. The distance, however, could not have been great, " as Finch mentions that a short way from Delhi is a stone " bridge of eleven arches that is now called Bara Pool or the " Great Bridge. The South Gate of Shir Shah's city must " have been somewhere between the Bara Pool and Humayon's " Tomb. The East wall of the city is determined by the line " of the high bank of the Jumna, which formerly ran due " South from Feroz Shah's Kotila towards Humayon's Tomb. " On the West the boundary line of the city can be traced " along the banks of a torrent bed which runs Southward " from the Ajmere Gate of Shahjehanabad and parallel to the " old course of the Jumna, at a distance of rather more than " one mile. The whole circuit of the city walls was, therefore, " close upon nine miles, or nearly double that of the Modern " Shahjehanabad" or Delhi.—(*General Cunningham.)*

Shir Shah reigned from A. D. 1540 to A. D. 1545, having driven the Emperor Humayon from the kingdom.

22.—*The Jail.*

This is opposite Feroz Shah's Lât, just outside the Delhi Gate of the city. It was formerly used as a serai or resting-place, but for many years past has been turned into a receptacle for criminals. It is but ill adapted to its present purpose, and will be given up when the new jail is ready.

23.—*Sufter Jung's Tomb.*

Sufter Jung was the honorary title of Munsoor Ali Khan, vizier of Ahmed Shah, Emperor of Delhi, who reigned from A. D. 1748 to A. D. 1754.

The tomb cost, it is said, £30,000, and is built on the model of the Taj at Agra, but is much smaller, and for beauty is not to be compared with that wonderful tribute of affection which the Emperor Shah Jehan erected to the memory of his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. The mausoleum is situated in a garden enclosed on the four sides by a wall, at the corners of which are pavilions of red sandstone. On three sides of the garden, which may be over 300 yards square, there are apartments for visitors, but the only ones ever occupied are those to the South, and they are hardly adapted for more than a day's stay, as there are nothing but the empty rooms, which are not even supplied with doors. There are also rooms over the entrance-gateway, but they are not in use. The tomb belongs to the family of the ex-King of Oudh, but so little if anything is spent on repairs that, if some steps are not soon taken, the building will soon be in the same plight as are the different ruins round Delhi.

The mausoleum stands on a terrace; beneath this, says Beresford in his book on Delhi (1856), "is a vault containing a "grave of plain earth, covered with a cloth strewed daily with "fresh flowers. In the centre of the first floor is a beautiful

" marble sarcophagus, elegantly carved and highly polished. "The building is surmounted by a marble dome" (this is now very much out of repair,) "and as a mausoleum is a " remarkable and majestic structure. It was erected by Nawab " Shuja-oo-doulah, son of Sufter Jung." Mr. Beresford adds that Sufter Jung was a " daring and intrepid soldier, a good " man, and an upright magistrate." An intrepid soldier he was, but more can hardly be said of him; he seems to have been but little better than the other nobles of the decaying court of Ahmed Shah.

The tomb is some five miles from Delhi, on the right of the road to the Kootub; its gate faces the road.

24 & 25.—*Group of Four Tombs and Musjid facing the Gateway of Sufter Jung's Tomb.*

"The Northern group," says General Cunningham in a letter to the Secretary of the Local Fund Committee of Delhi, "consisting of two *octagonal* tombs and a bridge " of seven arches, is attributed by the natives to the time of "the Lodi family; the larger tomb, within a square, being " assigned to Sekunder Lodi, and I believe that this attribu-"tion is most probably correct. But the Southern group, " which consists of a musjid and two square tombs, belongs, "in my opinion, to an earlier period. I am led to this con-"clusion by the style of the building, which is quite distinct "from that of the Lodi period" (A. D. 1450 to A. D. 1526) as well " as from that of the Seiad dynasty" (A. D. 1414 to A. D. 1444.) "If we may judge by the solitary specimen "of Seiad Mobarik's Tomb (*see* 27) on the other hand, the "style of the musjid agrees precisely with that of Feroz's "great mosque in Ferozabad (no longer existing) as described "by Timour's historians, as well as with that of another musjid "of Feroz which formerly existed at Depalpore, in the "Punjab." These tombs are well worth visiting; they lie

to the left of the road from Sufter Jung's Tomb (*see* 23) to Humayon's Tomb (*see* 36), and are all close together.

General Cunningham, in his official report of the state of the buildings about Delhi, considers that "the musjid "attached to these buildings is the only existing specimen of "the ornamented mosque of the time of Feroz, which so much "attracted the attention of Timour" (or Tamerlane in A. D. 1398, when he ravaged India,) "that he carried off all the "masons who had built it to Samarkand, that they might "erect another like it in his capital. The mosque of "Ferozabad is described by Ferishta as covered with in-"scriptions detailing the ordinances issued by Feroz. Of "this mosque only the back wall is now standing, but the "musjid, as above-mentioned, which I wish to see cleared, "corresponds exactly with the description of the historian. "Its front is entirely covered with inscriptions and draperied "ornament in a very hard plaster, which is still fresh and "sharp, after the lapse of five centuries. The interior walls are "also thickly covered with inscriptions and ornaments cut in "hard stone, which are now as perfect as when first executed." These tombs are now being cleared out, and it is hoped by the cold weather the mass of writings in the musjid (now defiled by the Hindoos who have squatted therein) may be deciphered. The date of the musjid's erection would probably be about A. D. 1370.

26.—*Three Tombs called the Tir Boorja.*

These stand to the left of the road from Sufter Jung's Tomb (*see* 23) to the Kootub, close to the village of Mobarikpore (*see* 27), and are somewhat difficult of access to the equestrian. The names they bear are respectively Burra Khan, Chota Khan, and Kalee Khan. The largest, Burra Khan, is probably of the Pathan period, but the date of erection is unknown. They are all, more or less, in a state of decay, like hundreds of others which lie around neglected,

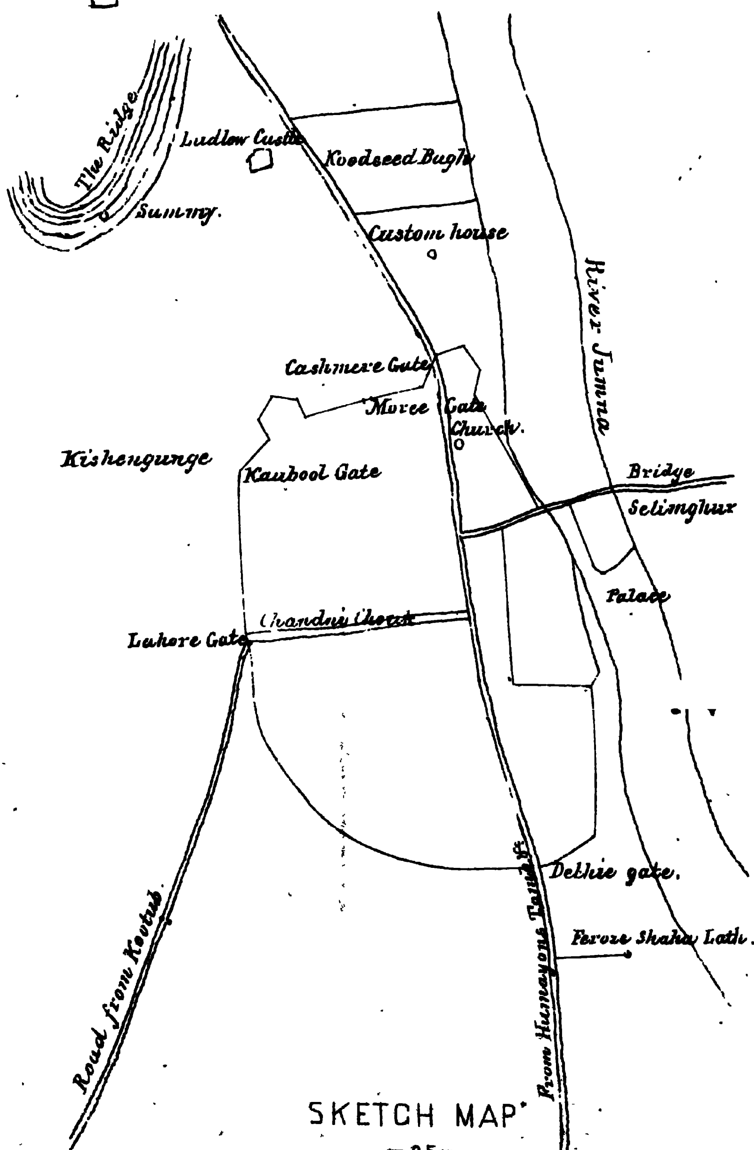
and are built of red sandstone and kharra-stone. They are hardly worthy of a visit, and as much of them as is worth seeing can be seen from the road.

27.—*Mobarikpore Kotla.*

The tomb of Mobarik Shah is in the village of Mobarikpore, close to the three tombs just alluded to. The date of erection is somewhere between A. D. 1540 and A. D. 1545, during the reign of Shir Shah. The building is in the Pathan style of architecture of kharra-stone.

28.—*The Fort called Purana Keela.*

(General Cunningham).—" At the time of the Mahabharata " or great war between the Pandus and Kurus, this was one " of the well-known five *pats* or *prasthas* which were demand- " ed from Duryodhun by Yudhisthira as the price of peace. " These five pats which still exist were Paniput, Sonpat, " Indraput, Tilput, and Baghput, of which all but the last " were situated on the right or Western bank of the Jumna. " The term *prastha*, according to H. A. Wilson, means any " thing spread or extended, and is commonly applied to any " level piece of ground, including also table-land on the top " of a hill. But its more literal and restricted meaning " would appear to be that particular extent of land which " would require a *prastha* of seed, that is, 48 double-handsfull " or about 48 imperial pints or two-thirds of a bushel. This " was no doubt its original meaning, but in the lapse of time " it must have gradually acquired the meaning which it still " has of any good-sized piece of open plain. Indraprastha " would therefore mean the plain of Indra, which was, I pre- " sume, the name of the person who first settled there. The " date of the occupation of Indraprastha as a capital by " Yudhisthira may, as I believe, be attributed with some " confidence to the latter half of the 15th century B. C. " The grounds on which I base this belief are as follows:—


Rao's house.
The Ridge
Sammy.
Ludlow Castle
Koodseed Bugh
Custom house
River Jumna
Cashmere Gate
Moree Gate
Church.
Kishengunge
Kaubool Gate
Bridge
Selimghur
Palace
Lahore Gate
Delhie gate.
Feroze Shaha Lath.
Road from Kootub
From Humayons Tomb
SKETCH MAP
OF
DELHI

"1st.—That certain positions of the planets, as recorded "in the Mahabharata, are shown by Bentley to have taken "place in 1425 B. C., who adds that there is no other "year, either before that period or since, in which they "were so situated. *2nd.*—In the *Vishnu Purana*, it is "stated that, at the birth of Parikshita, the son of Arjuna "Pandava, the seven Rishis were in Magha, and that when "they are in Purva Asharha, Nanda will begin to reign. "Now, as seven Rishis or stars of the Great Bear are suppos-"ed to pass from one lunar asterism to another in 100 years, "the interval between Parikshita and Nanda will be 1,000 "years. But in the *Bhagavata Purana* this interval is said "to be 1,015 years, which, added to 100 years, the duration of "the reigns of the nine Nandas, will place the birth of Parik-"shita 1,115 years before the accession of Chandra Gupta in "315 B. C., that is, in 1430 B. C. By this account the "birth of Parikshita, the son of Arjuna, took place just "six years before the great war in B. C. 1424. These "dates, which are derived from two independent sources, "mutually support each other, and therefore seem to me to be "more worthy of credit than any other Hindu dates of so "remote a period." * * * "The name of Indraprastha "is still preserved in that of Indraput, a small fort, which "is also known by the name of Purana Keela or Old Fort. "In its present form this place is altogether a Mahomedan "structure, and I do not believe that there now exists even "a single carved stone of the original city of Yudhisthira. "The lofty massive towers and solid walls of this old fort "were strengthened by a ditch which once communicated "with the Jumna. In shape it is rectangular, about three "furlongs in length by one and a half in breadth. The fort "had four gates, but the South-west Gate is now alone open."

The other names of Purana Keela are Indraput, Deen Punnah, and Shir Gurh. In A. D. 1535 the Emperor Humayon

repaired, if he did not entirely build, the present fort, giving it the name of Deen Punnah. Shir Shah, who drove Humayon out of his kingdom, and is termed the Usurper, added to it and called it Shah Gurh, making it the citadel of his new city; and it is probable that he merely finished the very handsome mosque *(see* 29*)* which Humayon is said to have commenced, close to the ramparts. The South-west gateway is ornamented, as are other parts of the battlements, with encaustic tiles. Inside the walls is a Missionary Chapel.

Purana Keela lies some two miles from Delhi, leaving the Delhi Gate on the road leading to Humayon's Tomb (*see* 36), to which it is quite close, and apart from the fine musjid (Keela Kona, *see* 29) it contains, it is well worth a visit, being probably the site of one of the most ancient cities in India.

29.—*Keela Kona Mosque.*

In Purana Keela (*see* 28). Said to have been commenced by the Emperor Humayon before his expulsion from his kingdom in A. D. 1540, and to have been completed by Shir Shah, who succeeded him. This very beautiful mosque "has five horse-shoe arches, decorated with blue tiles and "marble, and is a favorable specimen of the architecture of "the Affghan period,"* and is in capital preservation, with the exception of the central arch, the work on the top of this being a good deal ruined. This is perhaps one of the most tasteful mosques in or near Delhi, and is remarkable for its richly inlaid work and graceful pendentives. The prevailing material of the centre arch is red cut sandstone and black slate, and towards the ground white marble and black slate; the carving throughout being very ornate. The two side-arches are composed of simple redstone picked out with yellow glaze and black slate finely carved; the outermost arches are

* From some notes left by Mr. Thornton, late Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, now Secretary to the Punjab Government.

still plainer in construction, the outer walls changing from red to grey stone. Under the archways are the entrance arches, that of the central arch being of beautiful marble, which throughout the building has, strange to say, preserved its purity and whiteness. The mosque, however, is fast going to pieces, and, if some steps are not soon taken, decay will soon set its broad mark on this fine structure. There is a massive grandeur about the interior which cannot but strike the visitor, who should not fail to remark the great thickness of the blocks of stone which form the stairs leading to the roof, from whence there is a fine view. There is no regular road from the gateway of the fort to this building, and the better plan would be for the tourist to leave his conveyance outside the fort, and proceed on foot to visit the mosque.

30.—*The Sher Mundil.*

This is also within the fort; it is a lofty octagonal building, built by Shir Shah in A. D. 1541. It was used by the Emperor Humayon as a library after his return from exile in A. D. 1556, and is three storeys high: the interior seems to have been once richly decorated with paintings of flowers, but now there are very few traces of these efforts of art remaining. In this building it was that Humayon met with the accident that terminated in his death. Hearing the cry to prayers from the neighbouring mosque, he started up, but his staff slipped, and he fell down the stairs, injuring himself so seriously that he died four days afterwards, being buried in the celebrated mausoleum that stands close by.

31.—*The Kala Mahul.*

It is built close to Purana Keela, on the opposite side of the road, (some two miles from Delhi in the direction of Humayon's Tomb.) It was, according to the Asar Sun-o-deed, erected in A. D. 1632. It is now a complete ruin, but is a striking object from the great extent of ground the build-

ings occupy. The original plan seems to have been an open court-yard flanked by domed galleries, which below are completely broken through. The gateway must have been handsome, but it is fast falling to pieces. Close to this is the serai, which, however, is now a mere ruin.

32.—*The Lal Bungalow, or Red House.*

This is not far from Purana Keela (*see* 28), and lies between it and Arab-ke-Serai, rather to the right of the connecting road. There are two tombs of red sandstone with domes: the larger was built by the Emperor Humayon before his expulsion from his kingdom about A. D. 1540 in honor of some of his wives, or as a place of residence for them, and in the smaller tomb, Lal Kawur, wife of the Emperor Shah Alum* lies buried, and after her the buildings are termed Lal Bungalow.

33.—*Village of Arab-ke-Serai.*

This village is now but an unimportant small place, but is remarkable for having two fine gateways, which are still covered with encaustic titles. It was built by Haji Begum, wife of the Emperor Humayon, probably after the death of the latter. Arabs were brought here to reside in it, hence the name it bears. The Begum used to support a number of these Arabs, but their descendants have long since left the place, or become so amalgamated with the surrounding population that all trace of them has passed away. Arab-ke-Serai is close to Purana Keela and adjoins Humayon's Tomb.

34.—*The Leela Boorj, or Blue Tomb.*

This curious old ruin lies just outside Humayon's Tomb (*see* 36) and the village of Arab-ke-Serai (*see* 33.) It takes its name from the coloured encaustic tiled roof, which is a very striking object. Tradition has it that it was erected to

* The Emperor Shah Alum's miserable fate is referred to in an earlier portion of this work—see page 73.

the memory of some holy Seiad by one of the Pathan sovereigns, but the date of erection is unknown. One side of the building still bears trace of the handsome encaustic facing it once bore, but the tiles are dropping out, and in a few years they must disappear altogether.

35.—*Mukburrah Khan Khanna.*

Abdool Ruheem Khan, surnamed Khan Khanna, was the son of Behram Khan, (a famous General of Humayon's, and for some time the leading councillor of the Emperor Akber.) He built this edifice for his wife, but her body does not rest within. He himself, in the 21st year of the reign of Jehangire, was buried in the mausoleum, being then 72 years of age. It was originally principally composed of marble and red-stone, but in Asuf-oo-dowlah's time the marble was extracted and conveyed to Lucknow, and since then the building has fallen into a deplorable state of decay, the tomb itself being all but destroyed. It is built on a 68-arched terrace, which is in many places in ruins. The mausoleum bears but slight trace of its former splendour. It is in the form of a square with the four doorways hollowed in the walls; nineteen steps lead from the terrace to the next storey, from which the interior may be seen ; the roof is very plain, no colored decorations being used. Twenty-eight much-broken steps lead from the second to the highest storey, from which a fine view is obtainable. The dome is bare and is seemingly built of rubble and masonry; twelve steps lead to the room at the top, the upper section of the dome forming a separate chamber, which has a strong cement floor, and, strange to say, though there are so many open windows, no birds have taken up their residence in the empty apartment.

The tomb lies close to the Bullubgurh Gate of Arab-ke-Serai, and is just outside Humayon's Tomb, some four miles from Delhi, along a fair road.

36.—*The Emperor Humayon's Tomb.*

This mausoleum stands some three and a half miles from Delhi, and is close to the village of Arab-ke Serai, its immense marble dome being a conspicuous object for miles around. It was built by the Emperor's widow, Haji Begum, and is the earliest specimen, says General Cunningham, of the "architecture of the Mogul dynasty." He states that "the "exterior form of the main body of the tomb is a square with "the corners cut off, or an octagon with four long and four "short faces, and each of the short faces forms one side of "the four octagonal corner towers. The dome is built "entirely of white marble, the rest of the building being of "red sandstone with inlaid ornaments of white marble. In "this tomb we first see towers attached to the four angles "cf the main building. An innovation in this tomb is the "narrow-necked dome."

It is raised on two noble terraces; the upper one was formerly surrounded by a screen-work of cut stone, but a great part of this has disappeared. The lower terrace is but three feet high and twenty-five feet in breadth, and upon this rises the second terrace supported by arches, with passages into the interior, which latter is filled with smaller tombs. The height of the upper terrace is over twenty feet and may be some thirty feet in breadth. It is in excellent preservation, and on it are several tombs a few of which are of white marble. The windows and doorways of the mausoleum are filled in with filagree work, and great labour and pains must have been expended on their construction, but many have been wantonly broken. The area of the walled enclosure in which the building lies might be over 300 square yards, and there are two principal entrances through lofty gateways, but there is nothing in their structure that calls for comment. Humayon's Tomb has neither the beauty of the Taj at Agra or of Sufter Jung's last resting-place (some two miles off—*see* 23,) but is

striking from its massiveness and immense size. The vast dome of white marble is in excellent order, but in form it is not to be compared in airy grace and lightness with the cupolas of many other mausoleums. In the side apartments there are tombs of various members of the royal family of Delhi, and in the centre is the Emperor Humayon's sarcophagus of beautifully cut marble. The ornamental accessories on the outside of the tomb are poor in effect, there not being enough to carry off the size of the dome.

The vicissitudes of fortune that the Emperor Humayon underwent are sufficiently striking to merit notice here. He commenced his reign in A. D. 1530, and was driven from his kingdom by Shir Shah, commonly termed the Pathan usurper. After many trials and great sufferings, the fallen Emperor made his way to Persia, where he was on the whole well treated by Tahmasp, the reigning sovereign, but he was compelled to adopt the Sheea creed of Mahomedanism, and, making other concessions, he obtained help from the Persian monarch, and was eventually enabled to seize Candahar and afterwards to recover his kingdom. Scarcely had he held the reins of power six months, when he met his death by a fall from his library in Purana Keela, dying four days after the accident in A. D. 1556; being succeeded by his son Akber, the most famous sovereign India ever had.

It was close to this celebrated mausoleum that Hodson, of the Guides, seized the sons of the Emperor of Delhi after the capture of the city by the British in 1857; and feeling that it was impossible to convey his prisoners into the town, in defiance of the multitude thronging around, he shot them dead on the spot. Hodson's own account annexed will convey an idea of the perilous undertaking in which he was engaged :—

"I laid my plans so as to cut off access to the tomb or "escape from it, and then sent in one of the inferior scions of

"the royal family (purchased for the purpose by the present "of his life) and my one-eyed Moulvie Rajub Alli, to say that "I had come to seize the Shahzadahs for punishment, and "intended to do so dead or alive. After two hours of wordy "strife and very anxious suspense, they appeared and asked "if their lives had been promised by the Government, to "which I answered most certainly not, and sent them "away from the tomb towards the city under a guard. I "then went with the rest of the sowars to the tomb, and "found it crowded, I should think, with some 6,000 or 7,000 "of the servants, hangers-on and scum of the palace and city, "taking refuge in the cloisters which lined the wall of the "tomb. I saw at once that there was nothing for it but "determination and a bold front, so I demanded in a voice of "authority the instant surrender of their arms, &c. They im-"mediately obeyed with an alacrity I scarcely dared to hope, "for in less than two hours they brought forth from innu-"merable hiding-places some 500 swords and more than that "number of fire-arms, besides horses, bullocks and covered "carts, called *ruths*, used by women and eunuchs of the "palace. I then arranged the arms and animals in the centre, "and left an armed guard with them, while I went to look "after my prisoners, who, with their guard, had moved on "towards Delhi. I came up just in time, as a large mob "had collected and were turning on the guard; I rode "in among them at a gallop, and in a few words I ap-"pealed to the crowd, saying that these were the butchers "who had murdered and brutally used helpless women and "children, and that Government had now sent their punish-"ment, and seizing a carbine from one of my men I deliberately "shot them one after another." The bodies were then taken into Delhi, and exposed in a public place.

37.—*The Bara Pool.*

A large native bridge, with eleven arches, paved with

stone slabs. It is just beyond Humayon's Tomb *(see 36,)*, on the high road to Bullubghur.

38.—*Chousut Kumba or 64-Pillared Hall.*

This is built of marble throughout, the pillars supporting twenty-five domes. A beautiful screen of cut marble at one time ran round the building (which is in shape a square), but this has disappeared in several places, the interstices being filled in with boards. Mirza Aziza Kokul Tash Khan's most beautiful tomb is within, and the building seems to have been intended as a species of mausoleum. The Mirza was the son of the Emperor Akber's foster-father, Tagah Khan,* who was slain by Adam Khan (*see notice of Adam Khan's Tomb,* 61.) A distant relation of the late Emperor's has the care of the beautiful structure, but very little pains are taken to keep it in order. It lies between Humayon's Tomb (*see* 37) and Nizam-oodeen's Tomb (*see* 39) at the entrance of the village close to Arab-ke-Serai. The chuprassie at Humayon's Tomb can direct the visitor as to the direction. Date of erection about A. D. 1600.

39.—*Nizam-oodeen's Tomb.*

This is situated in a species of cemetery in which are various other tombs which will be presently noticed. Nizam-oodeen lived in the reign of the Emperor Toogluck Shah about A. D. 1321, and his memory is still held in great veneration, crowds attending the annual festival held in his honour. The tomb has a very graceful appearance, and is surrounded by a verandah of white marble, while a cut marble screen encloses the sarcophagus, which is always covered with a cloth. Round the grave-stone runs a carved wooden guard, and from the four corners rise stone pillars draped with cloth, which support an angular wooden frame-work, and which has something of the appearance of a canopy to a bed. Below this wooden canopy there is stretched a cloth of green and red,

* Whose other name was Shumsh-oodeen Mahomed Khan.

much the worse for wear. The interior of the tomb is covered with painted figures in Arabic, and at the head of the grave is a stand with a Koran. The marble screen is very richly cut, and the roof of the arcade-like verandah is finely painted in a flower pattern. Altogether there is a quaint look about the building, which cannot fail to strike any one. A good deal of money has at various times been spent on this tomb, the dome was added to the roof in Akber's time by Mahomed Imam-oodeen Hussun, and in the reign of Shah Jehan (A. D. 1628-58) the whole building was put into thorough repair. General Sleeman gave it as his opinion that this Nizam-oodeen was probably the head of the Mahomedan *thugs* or assassins of India, and it appears these desperadoes really looked up to him as their chief, and for years after his death made pilgrimages to his tomb. It is not at all improbable that this worthy saint was the founder of the system of Thuggee (or causing death by strangulation,) and that he, by means of his numerous disciples, amassed the vast wealth which enabled him to set his sovereign at defiance. If stories are true that are told of him, he had no slight hand in the death of Toog-luck Shah, by whom he had been mortally offended.

The tomb is in the village of Gheiaspore, and is reached after passing through the Chousut Kumba (*see* 37.)

40.—*The Poet Khusroo's Tomb.*

This tomb is by the side of Nizam-oodeen, his contemporary and friend—erected about A. D. 1350.

"He moved about where he pleased through the palace "of the Emperor Toogluck Shah 500 years ago, and sang "*extempore* to his lyre, while the greatest and the fairest "watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came "warm from his soul. His popular songs are still the most "popular, and he is one of the favored few who live through "ages in the every-day thoughts and feelings of many mil-"lions, while the crowned heads that patronized him in their

"brief day of pomp and power are forgotten or remembered "merely as they happen to be connected with him."—(*General Sleeman's Rambles.*) He was known as the Parrot of India, and was the earliest writer in Oordoo.

41.—*Mirza Jehangire's Tomb.*

This also is in the same enclosure, as are the Poet Khusroo and Nizam-oodeen's just mentioned. It is a most exquisite piece of workmanship. The tomb itself, raised some few feet from the ground, is entered by steps, and is enclosed in a beautiful cut marble screen, the sarcophagus being covered with a very artistic representation of leaves and flowers carved in marble. Mirza Jehangire was the son of Akber II., and the tomb was built in A. D. 1832. Sleeman, in his rambles, says he knew Mirza Jehangire at Allahabad, "where he was killing himself as fast as he could with Hoff-"man's cherry brandy. This, he would say to me, is really "the only liquor you Englishmen have worth drinking, and "its only fault is, it makes one drunk too soon. To prolong "his pleasure, he used to limit himself to one large glass "every hour till he got dead-drunk."

The royal reprobate of course soon put an end to his life, and his mother fully persuaded the Emperor (the second last of the line of Timour) that he had fallen a victim to the ill-treatment of the English, who would not let him come to Delhi, where this choice scion of the royal family was always attempting to procure the assassination of the heir-apparent.

42.—*Tomb of Jehanara Begum.*

Also, in the same cemetery with the above, the sarcophagus is enclosed in a marble screen. Jehanara Begum was the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and sister to the unfortunate Dara Sheko, the heir-apparent to Shah Jehan's throne, but who was defeated and put to death by his younger brother, Aurungzib, who deposed his father, and

mounted the throne in his place. Jehanara was a most estimable princess, adorned with every virtue that a woman possesses: she refused to share the splendours of Aurungzib's court, and preferred to stay with her father. On her tomb are these words,—a part of the inscription is said to have been written by herself:—"Let no rich canopy cover my "grave: this grass is the best covering for the tomb of the "poor in spirit. The humble, the transitory Jehanara, the "disciple of the holy men of Cheest, the daughter of the "Emperor Shah Jehan."

The Emperor Shah Jehan was deposed in A. D. 1658, and lived seven years after. It was this sovereign who built the present city of Delhi, which he termed Shahjehanabad. It may be mentioned here that Aurungzib, on ascending the throne, took the name of Alumgire, by which he is designated in Indian History and all regular documents.

43.—*Tomb of Mahomed Shah.*

Close to the above; it is also surrounded by a cut screen of white marble. The Emperor Mahomed Shah lived in troublous times. In his reign Nadir Shah, the Persian, in A. D. 1739, invaded Hindoostan and utterly defeated the imperial armies. The two sovereigns marched into Delhi, and orders were given for the safeguard of the inhabitants, but the turbulence of the Delhi population could not be restrained: they fell on the Persian troops, and a general tumult took place. Nadir Shah endeavoured to stop this, but he was himself vigorously attacked, and one of his chiefs being killed at his side, he ordered a general massacre. The ill-fated city was given up to every horror that lust, vengeance, rapine and thirst of blood could bring in their train, and was soon involved in one scene of "desolation, blood and terror."—(*Elphinstone.*) The spot where Nadir Shah sat while watching the massacre of the inhabitants was till lately to be seen, but the gateway adjoining has been pulled down in the course

of the late improvements in the city. Mahomed Shah survived the sacks of Delhi for many years, and died in his bed in A. D. 1748.

44.—*Baoli or Well, near Nizam-oodeen's Tomb.*

This is close to the above-mentioned tombs, and is said to have been commenced by Nizam-oodeen (*see* 39) in A. D. 1321. Its waters are supposed to possess miraculous powers of healing, &c., and numbers attend for bathing purposes during the saint's festival. There are a class of bathers here who, for a trifling fee, plunge from the tops of the neighbouring buildings into the depths below; as a sight, it is far better worth paying a few annas for, than is the exhibition at the Mehrowlie *wells* (*see Kootub,* 69.)

45.—*Jumaat Khanu Mosque.*

This is close to Nizam-oodeen's Tomb, (*see* 39) built of red sandstone, in A. D. 1353, by Feroz Shah.

46.—*Tomb of Syud Abid.*

Between Nizam-oodeen's Tomb and Purana Keela (*see* 27.) It is of cement and covered with encaustic tiling, which has suffered very much from age and exposure to the climate. Syud Abid was, it is said, killed in some battle, but he is not referred to in any history. The tomb is by itself in an enclosure, not far from Arab-ke-Serai (*see* 33.)

47.—*Musjid Eesa Khan.*

Built by Eesa Khan, a nobleman of Shir Shah's court (A. D. 1540-'45.) It is a fine building, enclosed by a high wall, situated in what is called Eesa Khan's Kotla just opposite Humayon's Tomb. At the corners of the Kotla there are light pavilions with cupolas covered with encaustic tiles.

48.—*Tagah Khan's Tomb.*

This is the tomb of Shumsh-oodeen Mahomed Khan Ghazni, called also Azim Khan. This nobleman was Akber's foster-father, and he was killed by Adam Khan (*see* 61)

in A. D. 1561. The Tomb is built of white marble and red sandstone, and is near Arab-ke-Serai (*see* 33.)

49.—*Tomb in Garden of Humayon's Tomb.*

Built of red sandstone, with carved work in the interior. There are two marble sarcophagi inside, but they are much injured. It is not known to whose memory this tomb is erected.

50.—*Doorga Yoosoof Kutal.*

This is an edifice covered with enamelled work, and is worthy of a visit. It was built by Sheikh Alla-oodeen, who died in A. D. 1524, and is of red sandstone. A mosque is close to it, but is in a state of ruin. Situated near Khirkee (*see* 8.)

51.—*Mausoleum of Sooltan Gari.*

This lies to the West of the Kootub, some four miles off the road lying through Mahsoodpore, the mausoleum being in the village of Mullickpore Koyee, which is now deserted, the wells in the neighbourhood being to this day perfectly dry. Sooltan Gari was the son of the Emperor Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh, who reigned from A. D. 1211 to A. D. 1236. The building is one of much interest and worthy of visit; it is principally composed of marble. The tombs are in an underground room, which is very hot and stifling.

III.—THE KOOTUB AND RUINS, &c., &c.

52.—*The Kootub Minar.*

This pillar is situated about eleven miles from Delhi, on the road from Delhi to Goorgaon. It has suffered much from earthquakes and lightning, but in A. D. 1826 the British Government had it put into thorough repair at an outlay of over £2,000.

The Minar is the highest pillar in the world, standing 238 feet 1 inch above the level of the ground; the diameter of the base being 47 feet 2 inches, with an upper diameter of nearly 9 feet. The base or plinth of the pillar is

2 feet in height, the shaft is 234 feet 1 inch, and the base or stump of the old cupola is 2 feet more. It is said to have once had seven storeys, and to have been 300 feet high, but there is no warrant for this statement. At present there are five galleries, including the one at the top. The pillar itself is of a peculiar formation; in the lowest storey the flutes are alternately angular and circular; in the second circular, and in the third angular only; the section above this is faced with marble, having a belt of dark stone at the bottom, and the upper section of all is of the red sandstone of which the whole of the outside of the pillar is built, having two belts of marble and some ornamental marble work close to the summit.

"The lower storey is 94 feet 11 inches in height, and the "upper storey is 22 feet 4 inches, the two measurements "together being just equal to half the height of the column; "the length of the second storey is 50 feet 8½ inches, the "third is 40 feet 9½ inches, the fourth is 25 feet 4 inches, "or just one-half of the height of the second storey. Omitting, "then, only the stump of the old cupola, the column is just "five diameters in height, and the lower storey is just "two diameters in height. The circumference of the base is "equal to the sum of the diameter of the six storeys of the "building, the old cupola being considered as a sixth "storey."—(*General Cunningham.*) In 1794 the pillar was over 242 feet high, but as the capital was injured, Fergusson considers that probably 20 feet might be added to make up the proper height. The minaret of the Mosque of Hussun at Cairo is known to be loftier than this pillar, "but as the "Minar is an independent building, it has a far nobler ap- "pearance, and both in design and finish far surpasses its "Egyptian rival, as indeed it does any building of its class."—(*Fergusson.*)

The history of the Kootub Minar "is written in its inscrip-

"tions. In the basement storey there are six bands or "belts of inscriptions encircling the tower. The uppermost "band contains only some verses from the Korân, and the "next below it gives the well-known ninety names (Arabic) "of the Almighty. The third belt contains the name and "praises of Mauz-oodeen Abul Muzafur Mahomed Bin Sam. "The fourth belt contains only a verse from the Korân, and "the fifth belt repeats the name and praises of the Sultan "Mahomed Bin Sam. The lowermost belt has been too "much injured, both by time and by ignorant restorations, to "admit of being read, but Syud Ahmud has traced the words "Amir-ool Amra or Chief of the Nobles. The inscription "over the entrance doorway records that the Minar of Sultan "Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh having been injured, was repaired "during the reign of Sekunder Shah, son of Behlol, by Futeh "Khan, the son of Khawas Khan, in A. H. 909, or A. D. "1503. In the second storey the inscription over the door-"way records that the Emperor Altomsh ordered the com-"pletion of the Minar. The lowermost belt contains the "verses of the Korân respecting the summons to prayer on "Friday, and the upper line contains the praises of the "Emperor Altomsh. Over the door of the third storey the "praises of Altomsh are repeated, and again in the belt of "inscriptions round the column. In the fourth storey the "door inscription records that the Minar was ordered to be "erected during the reign of Altomsh. The inscription "over the door of the fifth storey states that the Minar having "been injured by lightning was repaired by the Emperor "Feroz Shah in A. H. 770, or A. D. 1368."—(*General Cunningham.*) The pillar appears to have been completed about A. D. 1235.

Kootub-oodeen succeeded Shahab-oodeen as sovereign of Delhi in A. D. 1206, having long ruled India as viceroy; he died in A. D. 1210, and was succeeded by his son Aram, who

was deposed by his brother-in-law, Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh, who died in A. D. 1236, the Kootub having been completed in his reign. It is not known how the name Kootub or Kutb arose; it seems it is quite modern, the old word for it being the Lât (pillar) or the Minar.

The history of the pillar is involved in great obscurity, it being a popular legend that the Hindoo Rajah Pithora commenced a pillar on the site of the present Minar, at the request of his daughter, who was desirous of seeing the River Jumna daily, and from its summit beholding the rising sun. Whether the Hindoo Rajah did commence the building can never be satisfactorily determined, but the glory of its completion undoubtedly rests with the Mahomedans alone. There are various arguments in favour of the pillar having been at any rate commenced by the Hindoos, but these arguments General Cunningham in the most able manner takes up and summarily disposes of. Below is an abstract of his reasoning on the subject; for the convenience of the reader it is a little condensed.

It is urged—	*Reply.*
1.—That a pillar being placed by itself and alone, is contrary to the Mahomedan practice.	1.—The Kootub Minar is a Mazineh (or place from whence the crier calls to prayer) as are the Minars of Ghuzni, which are built half a mile apart, and were standing 180 years before the Kootub Minar was commenced.
2.—That the slope of the Kootub Minar is greater than that of other Minars.	2.—This slope is the peculiar characteristic of Pathan architecture. (The Pathans ruled in Delhi, be it remembered, at the time referred to.)

3.—If the Minar had been intended for a Mazineh, it would have been erected at one end of the Mosque.

3.—The Koel Minar at the Jumma Musjid at Koel is isolated, as is the Kootub Minar.

4.—The entrance door faces the North as the Hindoos have *their* doors, whereas the Mahomedans always place their doors facing the East.

4.—In the Koel Minar (built by the son of the Emperor who built the Kootub) the entrance is to the North, and the entrance to the two great tombs of Bahawul Huk and Ruknoodeen in Mooltan are not to the East, but to the South, as are also those of the Taj Mahal and other tombs. Besides, many Hindoo temples have their entrances to the East and not to the North. Out of 50 temples General Cunningham examined, 38 had their entrances to the East, 10 to the West, and only 2 to the North.

5.—It is customary for the Hindoos to commence such buildings as the Kootub without a platform or plinth, whereas the Mahomedans always have a plinth.

5.—Not so. The Buddhist Temple at Buddha Gya springs from a plinth 20 feet high. In the Fort of Gwalior there are two Brahminical Temples, and many in Cashmere, raised on plinths. The great pillar at Chitore has also a plinth 8 or 10 feet in height. The Mahomedans certainly have built on plinths, but these were the plinths in

many cases of the idol temples overthrown, as at Mathura, Kanouj and Jounpore; but the early Mahomedans did not place their buildings on a raised terrace or platform, *vide* mosques in Persia or Syria. The cotemporary tombs of Altomsh close to the pillar is also without a plinth.

6.—There are bells sculptured on the bands on the Kootub Minar, which indicate that the Hindoos were the builders, as these bells are used in idol-worship, and would be an abomination to the Mahomedans.

6.—The Mahomedans had no objections to use such portions of architectural ornament as were free from figures of men and animals; in the Jumma Musjid at Kanouj, the Hindoo ornaments are retained; indeed, in the Kootub galleries, the representation of bells is sculptured on many of the stones, and it is evident that the Mahomedans did not object to their pourtrayal, for in no case have these symbols of idol-worshippers been destroyed.

The Kootub Minar is charmingly situated among ruins and grass land; 379 steps, in excellent repair, built of kharra-stone, lead to the summit, from whence there is a magnificent view.

53.—*Bhoot Khana, or Idol Temple.*

A ruined colonnade, composed of Hindoo pillars (*see* 54). It was supposed that this was actually an idol temple

built to Vishnoo, but there is no doubt now that the pillars were put in their present position by the Mahomedans. "It was at first by no means easy to determine "whether the pillars now stand as originally arranged "by the Hindoos, or whether they have been taken down "and arranged by the conquerors. It was imagined that "they were open colonnades surrounding the palace of "Pithora, but even supposing this to be so with regard to the "pillars, it is quite evident that all the enclosing walls were "erected by the Moslems; all the spring courses being "covered with ornaments in their style, and all the open- "ings possessing pointed arches which the Hindoos never "used." * * * The pillars "belong to the 9th or 10th cen- "tury, and are among the few examples to be found in "India that seem to be over-laden with ornament." * * * "In some instances the figures that were on the shafts of "the pillars have been cut off as offensive to Mahomedan "strictness with regard to idolatrous images, but on the roof "and less seen parts the cross-legged figures of the Jaina "saints and other emblems of that religion may still be "detected."—(*Fergusson.*) This gallery is well worthy of a protracted visit; hardly any two of the pillars are the same, but enough remains to show how beautiful the carving must have been before the iconoclastic Mahomedans destroyed what they had not the soul to appreciate. The pillars have in several places given way, and on the South side they have almost disappeared. The gateway to the North is worth a close examination; over its upper joint there is some fine carving in stone, which still is in fair order. Oddly enough, this is partially hidden by a huge stone, which has been let in, as if apparently to conceal the work behind it.

54.—*Musjid-i-Kootub-ool-Islam.*

It is supposed that the entire range of buildings at the Kootub were laid out as a mosque or as adjuncts to the mosque,

and it is not difficult to trace where the sacred edifice actually stood. It was constructed from the spoils of twenty-seven idol temples that were pulled down after the capture of Rae Pithora's Fort in A. D. 1193, and it appears to have been only three years in building.

"The front of the Musjid is a wall 8 feet thick, pierced "by a line of seven noble arches; the centre arch is 22 feet "wide and nearly 53 feet high, and the side arches are "10 feet wide and 24 feet high. Through these gigantic "arches the first Mussulmans of Delhi entered a magni-"ficent room, 135 feet long and 31 feet broad, the roof "of which was supported on five rows of the tallest and "finest of the Hindoo pillars. The mosque is approached "through a cloistered court (*see* 53) 145 feet in length "from East to West and 96 feet in breadth. In the "midst of the West half of this court stands the celebrated "iron pillar (*see* 62) surrounded by cloisters formed of "several rows of Hindoo columns of infinite variety and "design, and of most delicate execution. There are three "entrances to the court of the Musjid, of which the Eastern "entrance was the principal one. The South entrance "has disappeared long ago. During the reign of Altomsh, "the son-in-law of Kootub-oodeen, the great mosque was "much enlarged by the addition of two wings to the North "and South, and by the erection of a new cloistered court "six times as large as the first court. The fronts of "the two wing buildings are pierced by five arches each, the "middle arch being 24 feet span, the next arches 13 feet, "and the outer arches only 8½ feet. The walls are of the "same thickness, and their ornamental scrolls are of the "same delicate and elaborate tracery as those of the original "mosque. But though the same character is thus preserved "in these new buildings, it would seem that they were not "intended simply as additions to the Jumma Musjid, but as

"new and separate mosques. In February 1853 I exa-"mined very minutely the pillared cloisters of the great "mosque, and I then came to the conclusion that the "square about the iron pillar is all made up, the outer "walls are not Hindoo, the pillars are all made up of pieces "of various kinds, the shaft of one kind, being placed above "that of another for the purpose of obtaining height. The "general effect is good, but a closer inspection reveals the "incongruities of pillars, half plain and half decorated, and "of others that are thicker above than below." * * * "The "colonnades of the court of the Musjid were composed of "the pillars of twenty-seven Hindoo temples." * * * "There "is no doubt now that the court round the iron pillar (*see* 68) "was put up by the Mahomedans as an entrance court to the "mosque which lies to the West."—*(General Cunningham.)*

These arches are now in a ruined state; the repairs on the large central arch were undertaken by the British Government; they are, comparatively speaking, quite recent. It must be remembered that the present city of Delhi was not in existence at the time referred to.

55.—*Tomb of Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh.*

This lies at the North-west corner of the Kootub grounds, and abuts on the road. It is erected to the memory of the Emperor Altomsh, who expired in A. D. 1236, and was erected by Sultan Ruqu-oodeen and Sultana Rezia, children of the above. Fergusson calls it the oldest authentic Mahomedan tomb in India. Feroz Shah, who reigned from A. D. 1351 to A. D. 1385, is said to have placed a roof to the building; but it is doubtful if there ever was one, as there are no traces of the same. The interior, a square of 29½ feet, is beautifully and elaborately decorated, and in wonderful preservation, considering its age and the exposure to which it has been subjected. The walls are over 7 feet thick, the

principal entrance being to the East. The tomb is built of red sandstone and marble; the sarcophagus is in the centre, and is of pale marble. Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh was the slave and eventually the son-in-law of Kutb-oodeen, first Emperor of Delhi.

56.—*Ala-oodeen's Palace.*

This lies to the South-west of the arches in the Kootub grounds, and although termed above a palace, it may have been anything. The walls are of enormous thickness, but much injured, and there is not a roof left to any of the many adjacent rooms.

The Emperor Ala-oodeen commenced to govern in A. D. 1295, and had a long and splendid reign, though he himself was a most ignorant and brutal tyrant. Popular report gives this as his last resting-place, as also as to its being his palace while alive; but there is no proof that he was interred on this spot, as there is no trace of any sarcophagus to be found anywhere. One story has it that he built this structure as a tomb for himself in A. D. 1307.

This sovereign, by a gross act of treachery, assassinated his uncle Jellal-oodeen Kilji, the reigning Emperor, and endeavoured at first to atone for his wickedness by ruling wisely, but this desire to make up for past evil deeds did not last long. "He was liberal in bestowing wealth and "honors, and was profuse in gifts as well as in shows and "magnificence; but as in the midst of his course of conci-"liation he could not refrain from acts of rapacity, and "never repressed his arbitrary temper, he was only parti-"ally successful in his attempts to gain popularity, and "although his reign was long and glorious, he was always "disturbed by conspiracies and rebellions, and disquieted by "suspicions even of his own family, and of those most "trusted by him."—*(Elphinstone.)* In this reign the city

of Siri, now Shahpore, some six miles to the North-east of the Kootub pillar, was entrenched; it was here that the Moguls attacked him, but it appears they left India without coming to any engagement. Ala-oodeen "was so absolutely illite-"rate that he began to learn to read after he had been for "some time on the throne; yet so arrogant, that his most "experienced ministers durst not venture to contradict him, "and the best informed men about his court were careful "to keep down their knowledge to the level of his acquire-"ments."—*(Elphinstone.)* He died in A. D. 1317.

57.—*Ala-oodeen's Gateway.*

This is a pendentive to Emam Zamin's Tomb, and is immediately behind the Kootub Minar. "This is called by "Syud Ahmud the Alai-Darwaza or Gate of Ala-oodeen, "but this appellation is not known to the people. The "age of the building is however quite certain, as the name "of Ala-oodeen is several times repeated in the Arabic "inscriptions over three of the entrances, with the addition "of his well-known title of Sekander Sain, and the date "of A. H. 710, or A. D. 1310. The building is a square "of 34½ feet inside and 56½ feet outside, the wall being "11 feet thick. On each side there is a lofty doorway "with a pointed horse-shoe arch, the outer edge of the "arch being fretted and the under-side panelled. The "corners of the square are cut off by bold niches, the head "of each niche, being formed by a series of five pointed "horse-shoe arches lessening in size as they rètire towards "the angle. In each corner there are two windows of the "shape and style as the doorways, but only one-third of "the size. These are closed by massive screens of marble "lattice-work. The exterior walls are panelled and inlaid "with broad bands of white marble, the effect of which is "certainly pleasing. The walls are crowned by battle-"mented parapet surmounted by a hemispherical dome.

"For the exterior view of the building this dome is perhaps "too low, but the interior view is perfect, and taken altogether "I consider that the gateway of Ala-oodeen is the *most* "beautiful specimen of Pathan architecture that I have "seen."—(*General Cunningham.*)

Fergusson says:—"Its walls are decorated internally "with a diaper pattern of unrivalled excellence, and the "mode in which the square is changed into an octagon is "more simply elegant than any other example in India." There are four entrances to this beautiful structure; the interior is in very fair repair, but on the outside it has suffered a good deal, the carvings in marble and red sandstone have disappeared, and the roof itself must have received injury, for the fine tracery on the marble has been effaced by layers of cement and whitewash.

58.—*Emam Zamin's Tomb.*

This adjoins Ala-oodeen's Gateway (*see* 47) and stands behind the open colonnade running along the South side of the Minar. It is situated in a low walled enclosure on a raised terrace; the sarcophagus is inside the tomb, which last has nothing about it worthy of much observation. It is said to have been built in the life-time of Emam Zamin, about A. D. 1535, during the Emperor Humayon's reign.

59.—*Top of the Kootub Minar.*

This octagonal stone pavilion was put up over the Minar by Major Smith, of the Engineers, who had the superintendence of the repairs of the Kootub, but it was taken down by the order of Government. It is now placed on a raised plot of ground in front of the long colonnade which runs from the pillar to the East. It is not in the least ornamental, but it would be more expensive than it is worth to remove it and clear the ground on which it stands,

so it will probably remain where it is, as useless as it is unsightly. Built in A. D. 1826.

60.—*The unfinished Minar.*

"This massive pillar is built wholly of the rough shapeless "grey stone of the country, and the surface is so uneven "that there can be no doubt it was the architect's intention "either to have faced it with red-stone or to have covered it "with plaster. The Minar stands upon a plinth 4½ feet in "width and the same in height, which is raised upon a ter-"race of 1 foot in breadth and 7½ feet in height. The rough "mass of the superstructure is 257 feet in circumference and "82 feet in diameter, but with a facing of red-stone this "diameter would have been increased to at least 85 feet, or "nearly double that of the Kootub Minar, as is usually "stated by the people. The entrance is to the East side, "and on the North, at some height, there is a window "intended to light the spiral staircase. But the steps were "never commenced, and there is only a circular passage, "9 feet 9 inches wide, round the central pillar, which is "27 feet in diameter. The thickness of the outer wall is "10 feet 3 inches, the whole pillar being 81 feet in diameter, "as noted above. The total height of the column as it now "stands is about 75 feet above the plinth, or 87 feet above "the ground level." * * * "Synd Ahmud states that "the building of the Minar was commenced in A. H. 711 "or A. D. 1311, but as Ala-oodeen did not die till A. D. "1316 (1317?) the work was probably stopped some time "before the end of the reign."—*(General Cunningham.)* This Minar is 425 feet from the Kootub Minar, and in round terms may be said to be of twice the dimensions of the latter. General Sleeman considered that this pillar was commenced by Shumsh-oodeen in A. D. 1215, but this is most clearly an error, supported by no competent authority. General Cunningham compares its outer appearance to that of

a gigantic cog-wheel, which it certainly does strongly resemble.

61.—*Adam Khan's Tomb.*

A large massive building to the South-west of the Kootub. It has a simple grandeur, which is not added to by any decorations. It is built almost entirely of kharra-stone, and is to the memory of Adam Khan, who was slain by the order of the Emperor Akber in A. D. 1562. The story is as follows: Adam Khan was one of the great nobles at Akber's court, and an insurrection breaking out in the Province of Malwa he was sent to quell it. This he succeeded in doing, but objecting to give up the spoil he had acquired, the young Emperor suddenly marched upon him, and before Adam Khan could form any decisive plans, he was vigorously attacked and compelled to submit to his sovereign, who generously pardoned his humbled vassal. He was, however, removed from Malwa, but not taking the lesson he had learnt to heart, he indulged his fierce and haughty temper, and so little cared for the authority of the Emperor that, in a quarrel that ensued between himself and Akber's vizier and foster-father, Shumsh-oodeen Mahomed Khan, he stabbed the latter while at prayers in a room adjoining the Emperor's own apartment. Akber ran out on hearing the noise, and with difficulty restrained himself from slaying the murderer with his own hand, but he checked his wrath and ordered him to be thrown down headlong from the place where the crime had been committed. The native story is that Adam Khan was twice hurled from the battlements.

The tomb, which is also called Bhool Bholinja and Goomgushtagee, is of Pathan architecture. The sarcophagus has been removed from the interior, and is now in the outer verandah to the North-east.

62.—*The Iron Pillar.*

"This," says General Cunningham, "is one of the most "curious monuments in India." * * * "It is a solid shaft "of mixed metal upwards of 16 inches in diameter, and about "50 feet in length." * * * "The total height of the "pillar above the ground is 22 feet;" * * * "its depth "under ground is considerably greater than its height above "ground, as a recent excavation was carried down to 26 feet "without reaching the foundation on which the pillar rests." General Cunningham considers that the whole length would not be less than 60 feet, and that it would weigh upwards of 17 tons. The pillar was probably erected by Rajah Dhava in A. D. 319; this sovereign's name is imprinted on it. Anang Pall II., of the Tomara dynasty, seems to have been the sovereign who had it dug up, but the popular legend gives the credit or otherwise of this to Rajah Pithora, the last of the Hindoo sovereigns, who was defeated by Shahab-oodeen. (Anang Pal II. reigned a few years before Pithora.)

This wonderful fragment of antiquity is situated in the *Bhoot-Khana*, or grand square of the mosque, and was probably a triumphal pillar erected by Rajah Dhava. The native legend referred to above is as follows:—

That Rajah Pithora, dreading the fall of his dynasty, consulted the Brahmins as to what steps should be taken to ensure its continuance. He was informed that if he sunk an iron shaft into the ground, and managed to pierce the head of the snake-god Lishay who supported the world, his kingdom would endure for ever. The pillar was accordingly constructed, and the directions of the Brahmins implicitly obeyed. How long the shaft remained undisturbed is not said, but the Rajah, either distrusting his priestly advisers, or desirous of seeing for himself whether the snake had been touched, contrary to the entreaties of the Brah-

mins, had the pillar taken up. To the surprise of the spectators and the consternation of the sovereign, the end of it was found covered with blood, and the Rajah was informed that his dynasty would shortly cease. He ordered the pillar to be again inserted in the ground, but the serpent below appears to have had enough of cold iron, and the Brahmins declared that the sceptre would soon pass away from the hands of the Hindoo sovereign. The charm was anyhow broken, for Shahab-oodeen shortly after wrested from Pithora his life and his kingdom, and from that day to this no Hindoo king has ever ruled in Delhi.

63.—*Fort of Lalkot.*

This lies to the East and North of the Kootub grounds: leaving Adam Khan's Tomb (*see* 61) on the West, the ramparts can be easily traced running along the South, and on the Western side the huge masses of stone work and the immense fortifications will well repay a ramble. The pedestrian can scramble quite round the battlements; the pathway on the North and East is in capital order; on returning, the Hindoo temple, the *Jogh Maya*, should be kept to the left, and just beyond this, entrance can be easily obtained within the Kootub grounds. "The Fort of Lalkot, which was built "by Anang Pal II. in A. D. 1060, is of an irregular rounded "oblong form, 2¼ miles in circumference. Its walls are as "lofty and massive as those of Toogluckabad, although the "blocks of stone are not so colossal. By different measure-"ments I found the ramparts to be from 28 to 30 feet in thick-"ness, of which the parapet is just one-half. These massive "ramparts have a general height of 60 feet above the bottom "of the ditch, which still exists in very fair order all round "the fort, except on the South side, where there is a deep "and extensive hollow that was most probably once filled "with water. About one-half of the main walls are still

"standing as firm and solid as when they were first built. "At all the salient points there are large bastions from 60 "to 100 feet in diameter. Two of the largest of these, which "are on the North side, are called the Futteh Burj and the "Sohan Burj. The long lines of walls between these "bastions are broken by numbers of smaller towers well "displayed out at the base, and 45 feet in diameter at the "top, with curtains of 80 feet between them: along the "base of these towers, which are still 30 feet in height, "there is an outer line of wall forming a *raoni* or *faussee* "*braie*, which is also 30 feet in height. The parapet of "this wall has entirely disappeared, and the wall itself is "so much broken as to afford an easy descent into the "ditch in many places. The upper portion of the counter-"scarp wall has nearly all fallen down, excepting on the "North-west side, where there is a double line of works "strengthened by detached bastions. The positions of three "of the gateways in the West half of the fort are easily "recognizable, but the walls of the East half are so much "broken that it is now only possible to guess at the probable "position of one other gate. The North gate is judiciously "placed in the re-entering angle close to the Sohan Burj, "where it still forms a deep gap in the lofty mass of ram-"part by which the cowherds enter with their cattle. The "West gate is the only one of which any portion of the "walls now remains. It is said to have been called the "Ranjit Gate. This gateway was 17 feet wide, and there is "still standing on the left hand side a large upright stone "with a groove for guiding the ascent and descent of the "portcullis. This stone is 7 feet in height above the rub-"bish, but it is not probably less than 12 or 15 feet. It is "2 feet 1 inch broad and 1 foot 3 inches thick. The ap-"proach to this gate is guarded by no less than three small "outworks. The South gate is in the Southmost angle,

"near Adam Khan's Tomb (*see* 61)—it is now a mere "gap in the mass of rampart. Syud Ahmud states on the "authority of Zia Barni, that the West gate of Rae Pithora's "Fort was called the Ghuzni Gate after the Mussulman con-"quest, because the Ghuzni troops had gained the fortress "by that entrance. I feel satisfied that this must have been "the Ranjit Gate, for the following reasons:—*first*, the "Mussulmans never make any mention of Lalkot, but al-"ways include it as a part of Rae Pithora's Fort; *secondly*, the "possession of the larger and weaker fortress of Rae Pithora "could not be called the conquest of Delhi while the stronger "citadel of Lalkot held out. The evident care with which "the approach to the Ranjit Gate has been strengthened "by a double line of works and by three separate outworks "immediately in front of the gateway itself, shows that this "must have been considered the weakest point of the for-"tress, and therefore that it was the most likely to have been "attacked. For this reason I conclude that the Ranjit Gate "was the one by which the Mussulmans entered Lalkot, the "citadel of Delhi, and that having proved its weakness by "their own success, they at once proceeded to strengthen "the works at this point for their own security."—(*General Cunningham.*)

Lalkot was the fort of the city of the Hindoo Rajah Pithora, who, in A. D. 1193, was defeated and slain by Shahab-oodeen. There is hardly a trace of any buildings within the ramparts now, but the battlements to the West and North are in a fair state, being very massively put together. The plan of defence seems to have been a rampart wall faced with loose stones, and protected at irregular distances by small bastions, the ditch below is of great depth, and beyond this rises another wall which has also defensive works built on it. Comparing the Lalkot with the old British stronghold near Dorchester—and as they are of much the same size—the

comparison is not an unfair one; it may be said that the work in the Lalkot is the stronger of the two, and that the architectural skill in the British fort cannot be compared to that shown in the Lalkot, which, indeed, in the days in which it was built, must have been almost impregnable. The defences, as far as we can now judge of them, must have been admirable, the advanced works being well covered by the ramparts and corner bastions. It is most clearly evident that the Mahomedans must have added to the old Hindoo fortification, as in the ditch of the fort to the North-west side there are two arches, and it is known that the Hindoos in those days did not use the arch at all. This is some little confirmation, if any were required, to General Cunningham's clearly-expressed opinion that the conquerors added to the works after the capture of the citadel.

64.—*Fort of Rajah Pithora.*

"From the North-west angle of Lalkot (*see* 63) the lines "of Rae Pithora's walls can still be distinctly traced running "towards the North for about half a mile. From this point "they turn to the South-east for one and a half miles, then "to the South for one mile, and lastly to the West and "North-west for three-quarters of a mile, where they join the "South-west angle of Lalkot, which, being situated on "higher ground, forms a lofty citadel that completely com- "mands the fort of Rae Pithora. The entire circuit of the "walls of the two forts is four miles and three furlongs, or "rather more than half the size of the modern city of Shah "Jehanabad or Delhi." * * * "The Fort of Rae "Pithora, which surrounds the citadel of Lalkot on three "sides, would appear to have been built to protect the "Hindoo city of *Delhi* from the attacks of the Mussulmans." * * * "As the first appearance of the formidable Ghoris "before Lahore corresponds so nearly with the accession of

"Prithvi Rajah 'or Pithora,' I think it very probable that "the fortification of the city of Dilli was forced upon the "Rajah by a well-grounded apprehension that Dilli itself "might soon be attacked, and so it happened, for within two "years after the battle of Tilaori, the Rajah was a prisoner, "and Dilli was in the possession of the Mussulmans." * * * "The defences of the city are in every way inferior to those "of the citadel. The walls are one-half the height and the "towers are placed at much longer intervals." * * * "The "Fort of Rae Pithora is said to have had nine gates besides "the Ghuzni Gate. Four of these gates can still be traced. "The first is on the West side, and is covered by an out-"work; the second is on the North side towards Indraput; "the third is on the East side towards Toogluckabad, and "the fourth is on the South-east side. But besides these "there must have been other gates somewhere on the South "side, one of which could not have been far from Sir T. "Metcalfe's house." (*See* 68.) "Such was the Hindoo city "of Dilli when it was captured by the Mussulmans in Janu-"ary 1193. The circuit of its walls was nearly 4½ miles, "and it covered a space of ground equal to one-half of the "modern Shahjehanabad, the capital of the Mogul sovereigns "of India. It possessed twenty-seven Hindoo temples, of "which several hundreds of richly-carved pillars remain "to attest both the taste and the wealth of the last Hindoo "rulers of India."—(*General Cunningham.*)

65.—*Haji Baba Rose Beh's Tomb.*

In the North-west ditch of the Lalkot (*see* 63) in a wild and deserted spot lie the remains of Rose Beh. He himself led the assault on the Lalkot, when it was attacked by Shahab-oodeen in A. D. 1193, and was slain heading the storming party. The tomb is visited occasionally, and as it has been lately white-washed, it is evident that there are some who have an interest in keeping it in a state of repair.

66.—*Tomb of Moulvie Joomalie Koomalie.*

This lies to the South-east of the Metcalfe House (*see* 68); the road to it from the Kootub Minar passes below the Metcalfe House across a bridge. The tomb is situated on a rising ground adjoining the Musjid of Fuzool-oolla, and is covered with encaustic tiling; the interior is worked up with lines of color. Date of erection about A. D. 1535, in the time of the Emperor Humayon. It is fast falling into decay, and losing all pretensions to any beauty it may have had.

67.—*Musjid of Fuzool-oolla or Jellal Khan.*

This stands next to the tomb above-mentioned. It has only one dome, and is said to have been built in A. D. 1528, during the reign of the Emperor Baber.

68.—*Metcalfe House.*

This was the tomb of Mahomed Koolee Khan, who was the Emperor Akber's foster-father. It may be remembered that Akber had four foster-mothers, and probably as many foster-fathers; this one referred to here is not the one who was killed by Adam Khan, (*see* 61.) The tomb is now fitted up as a European residence, and was a favorite resort of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Resident at the Court of Delhi.

69.—*The two Diving Wells in Mehrowlie.*

The one near the Kootub was built by Mahomed Daoud Khan in 1263 A. H. Anang Pal II. is said to have built the other, but this seems doubtful.

The depth of the well in the village of Mehrowlie (close to the Kootub) is something over 80 feet, and a certain class of divers for a present of four annas unhesitatingly jump down below. Commencing as children, at short distances, they are at length enabled to plunge from the summit of this well without danger. The legs are opened wide till just before immersion, when they are sharply closed. The diver, after a

moment's disappearance, again emerges from the water, swims to the side, and runs up the steps none the worse for his seemingly perilous venture.

70.—*Ruins below Metcalfe House.*

These lie to the South-east of the Metcalfe House (*see* 68.) They are but a mass of dismantled buildings, but will repay a visit.

71.—*Royal Tombs in Mehrowlie.*

These are in the town of Mehrowlie, close to the Kootub. They are well worth seeing, and no one should leave the Kootub without paying them a visit. They are all close together. The chuprassie at the Dâk Bungalow can give directions as to the road, &c.

In closing this notice of the Kootub Minar and adjacent ruins and buildings, it may be as well to state that there is very fair accommodation to be obtained on the spot. There are two Dâk Bungalows in the entrance square of the grounds, and any one can take rooms in the Metcalfe House by paying for the accommodation afforded (*i. e.* one rupee per day for each person.) Provisions, however, can only be supplied at the Dâk Bungalow.

If only one day can be given to the Kootub, the hotel-keepers in Delhi can make all the arrangements for the road.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX—CONTAINING PROBABLE DATES OF ERECTION OF VARIOUS BUILDINGS, &c., &c.

No.	Name.	B. C.	A. D.	Remarks.
1	Fort or Palace in Delhi ...	...	1638	In reign of Emperor Shah Jehan.
2	Dewan Aam ...	...	1638-58	Do. do. do.
3	Dewan Khass ...	...	"	Do. do. do.
4	Pearl Mosque ...	...	1658-1707	Do. do. Aurungzib.
5	Jumma Musjid ...	...	1638-58	Do. do. Shah Jehan.
6	Selimgurh ...	...	1546	Do. do. Selim Shah.
7	Kala or Kalan Musjid ..	about	1380	Do. do. Feroz Shah.
8	Kirkhee ...	"	"	Do. do. do.
9	Sut-poolla Bund ...	"	"	Do. do. do.
10	Begumpore ...	"	"	Do. do. do.
11	Buddee Munzil ...	"	"	Do. do. do.
12	Hous-Khass ...	"	"	Do. The Emperor Feroz Shah is buried here.
13	Junter Munter (Observatory) ...	about	1720	In reign of Mahomed Shah.
14	Roshun Chirag, Delhi ...	...	uncertain	Emperor Belol Lodi buried here.
15	Toogluckabad ...	...	1321-25	Commenced and finished in reign of Emperor Toogluck Shah.
16	Huzar-Seitoon (the 1,000-pillared hall) ...	abcut	1326	In reign of Emperor Mahomed Toogluck I.
17	The Barber's House ...	"	1824	
18	Emperor Toogluck Shah's Tomb ...	...	uncertain	Said to have been erected by the Emperor himself.
19	Feroz Shah's Lât or Pillar ...	...	1351-85	Placed in its present position about that period.
20	Ferozabad City ...	...	1351-58	Built by Emperor Feroz Shah.
21	Delhi Shir Shah ...	...	1540-45	Do. do. Shir Shah.
22	The Jail ...	...	...	Formerly used as a Serai.

No.	Name.	B. C.	A. D.	Remarks.
23	Sufter Jung's Tomb ...	about	1756-60	Munsoor Ali Khan, entitled Sufte Jung, was vizier to the Empero Ahmed Shah.
24 & 25	Group of 4 Tombs facing Sufter Jung's Tomb ...	...	doubtful.	
26	The Tir Boorja ...	,,	,,	
27	Mobarikpore Kotla. ...	...	1540-45	In reign of Emperor Shir Shah.
28	Purana Keela	about	1540	On the site of the ancient city of Indra Prastha, 15th century B. C.
29	Keela Kona Musjid ...	,,	1538	Built by the Emperor Humayon and Shir Shah.
30	Sher Mundil ...	...	unknown	In Purana Keela.
31	Kala Mahul ...	about	1632	In reign of Emperor Shah Jehan.
32	Lal Bungalow ...	,,	1540	Do. do. Humayon.
33	Arab-ke-Serai ..	,,	1560	In reign of Emperor Akber.
34	Leela Boorj ...	...	unknown	
35	Mukburrah Khan Khanna	about	1625	In reign of Emperor Jehangire.
36	Emperor Humayon's Tomb. ...	,,	1560	Built by his widow Hajee Begum.
37	Bara Pool ...	...	...	Bridge near Humayon's Tomb.
38	Chousut Kumba ...	about	1600	
39	Nizam-oodeen's Tomb ...	,,	1350	
40	Poet Khusroo's Tomb ...	,,	1350	
41	Mirza Jehangire's Tomb	about	1832	
42	Tomb of Jehanara Begum	about	1680	She was the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan.
43	Tomb of Emperor Mahomed Shah ...	,,	1750	
44	Baoli or Well, near Nizam-oodeen's Tomb,	,,	1330	
45	Jumaat Khana Musjid ...	...	1353	Built by Emperor Feroz Shah.
46	Tomb of Syud Abid ...	...	unknown	

No.	Name.	B. C.	A. D.	Remarks.
47	Tomb and Musjid of Eesa Khan ...	...	1540-45	In reign of Emperor Shir Shah.
48	Tagah Khan's Tomb ...	...	1561	Do. do. Akber.
49	Tomb in Garden of Humayon's Mausoleum ...	...	unknown.	
50	Doorgah Yosoof Kutal ...	...	1524	In reign of Emperor Baber.
51	Mausoleum of Sooltan Gari ...	...	1230	Sooltan Gari was the son of the Emperor Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh.
52	The Kootub Minar ...	about	1220	In the reign of Altomsh.
53	Bhoot-khana, or Idol Temple ...	,,	1220	In the reign of Altomsh, the Pillar Era of the 9th and 10th centuries A. D., and were placed by the Mahomedans in their present position.
54	Musjid-i-Kootub-ool-Islam	,,	1220	
55	Tomb of Emperor Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh ...	...	1236	Built by Sultana Rezia and Sultan Ruquoodeen, children of deceased.
56.	Emperor Ala-oodeen's Palace ...	...	1295-1317	
57	Emperor Ala-oodeen's Gateway ...	..	1311	
58	Emam Zamin's Tomb ...	...	1535	In reign of Emperor Humayon.
59	Top of Kootub Minar ...	...	1826	
60	The unfinished Minar ...	about	1310	In reign of Emperor Ala-oodeen I.
61	Adam Khan's Tomb ...	about	1565	Adam Khan was slain in 1562.
62	The Iron Lat, or Pillar ...	...	319	Actual date of erection unknown: the earliest date recorded on the shafts is A. D. 319.
63	Fort of Lalkot ...	...	1052	Built by Rajah Anang Pal II.
64	The Khass Keela ...	about	1190	Built by Rajah Pithora.
65	Haji Baba Rose Beh's Tomb ...	about	1193	
66	Tomb of Moulvie Joomalie Koomalie ...	about	1535	In reign of Emperor Humayon.

No.	Names.	B. C.	A. D.	Remarks.
67	Musjid of Fazool-oola ...	...	1528	In reign of Emperor Baber.
68	Metcalfe House ...	...	uncertain	This is the Tomb of Mahomed Koolee Khan.
69	The two Diving Wells ...			
70	Ruins below Metcalfe House ...	...	unknown	
71	Royal Tombs in Mehrowlie ...	...	...	All these are of a recent date.

MISCELLANEOUS TOMBS, &c., OF WHICH NO SPECIAL MENTION IS MADE IN THE GUIDE.

No.	Names.	B. C.	A. D.	Remarks.
72	The Flagstaff Tower ...	...	...	On the ridge where the fugitives in the Mutiny of 1857 took refuge.
73	The Kuddum Shurreef ...	...	...	Opposite Purana Keela.
74	Futtehpoori Musjid ...	about	1640	Built in Emperor Shah Jehan's reign.
75	Jeenutool Massy ...	...	...	Near the Turcoman Gate.
76	Tomb of Ghazee-ood-deen	...	...	At the Ajmere Gate.
77	Jaina Temple ...	quite	modern	Near the Chandni Chouk.
78	Ali Murdan's Canal ...	...	1628-58	In reign of Emperor Shan Jehan.
79	Munder Kalka ...	.	...	A very ancient Hindoo shrine, about six miles from Delhi.
80	The Jogh Maya ...	...	...	A very ancient Temple (Hindoo) close to the Kootub.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX TO THE SOVEREIGNS OF DELHI.

A. D.

1191 Shahab-oodeen attacks Delhi and is defeated.

1193 Shahab-oodeen takes Delhi. Kutb-oodeen is left in charge (Gheias-oodeen Ghori and Shahab-oodeen were associated together in the governing of Ghazni, the latter being the Military Governor.)

1202 Gheias-oodeen Ghori died, leaving Shahab-oodeen to rule.

1206 Shahab-oodeen assassinated. Mahomed Ghori succeeded to the sole government of Ghazni and India.

Indian Chronology.

1206 Kutb-oodeen Eiback, the former Viceroy of India, mounted the throne.

1210 Aram, his son, succeeded—was dethroned.

1211 Shumsh-oodeen Altomsh succeeded—died in 1236.

1236 Ruqu-oodeen, son of above, succeeded—deposed in seven months.

1236 Sultana Bezia, sister of above—deposed and put to death.

1239 Moiz-oodeen Behram—assassinated.

1241 Ala-oodeen (Masoud) I.—deposed and assassinated.

1246 Nasir-oodeen Mahmud—died 1266.

1266 Gheias-oodeen Bulbun—died 1286.

1286 Kei-Kobad—dethroned and assassinated 1288.

House of Khilji.

1288 Jelal-oodeen Khilji—assassinated 1295 by his nephew and successor.

1295 Ala-oodeen (Khilji) II., called Sekander—died 1316.

1317 Mobarik Khilji—murdered by Vizier Khusroo 1321.

House of Toogluck.

1321 Gheias-oodeen Toogluck—killed by fall of a pavilion 1325.

1325 Mahomed (Toogluck) I.—died 1351.

1351 Feroz Shah (Toogluck) in 1385 gives up government.

1385 Nasir-oodeen, son of above, succeeded.

1386 Nasiroodeen expelled. Gheias-oodeen II. (Toogluck) ascended the throne. Feroz Shah died 1388.

1389 Gheias-oodeen II. deposed and murdered. Abubekr succeeded

1389 Abubekr Toogluck is defeated and dethroned by Nasir-oodeen.

1394 Nasir-oodeen Toogluck died, succeeded by Humayon.

1394 Humayon I. reigned 45 days, died, and was succeeded by his brother.

1394 Mahomed Toogluck II. died in 1412.

1412 Doulut Khan Lodi expelled by Khizr Khan, Governor of the Punjab.

Government of the Seiads.

1414 Seiad Khizr Khan.

1421 Seiad Mobarik.

1435 Seiad Mahomed.

1444 Seiad Ala-oodeen made over Delhi to Behlol Khan Lodi.

House of Lodi.

1450 Behlol Khan Lodi died, succeeded by Sekander Lodi.

1488 Sekander Lodi died at Agra, 1516.

1516 Ibrahim Lodi succeeded—defeated and slain at Paneeput by Baber in 1526.

House of Timour.

A. D.

1526 Baber ascended the throne, died in 1530, buried at Cabul.

1530 Humayon II. ascended the throne; is expelled by Shir Shah.

House of Sur.

1540 Shir Shah Sur ascended the throne, killed in action 1545.

1545 Selim Shah Sur died, 1553.

1553 Mahomed Shah Sur Adili ascended the throne; the Emperor Humayon returned in 1556.

House of Timour.

1556 Humayon II. restored, killed by a fall inside Purana Keela.

1556 Akber succeeded, died in 1605.

1605 Jehangire succeeded, died in 1627.

1628 Shah Jehan ascended the throne, deposed in 1658.

1658 Aurungzib (or Alumgire I.) died 1707, aged 89.

1707 Bahadur Shah succeeded.

1712 Jehandar Shah succeeded, put to death by his nephew and successor.

1713 Farokshir, grandson of Bahadur Shah, succeeded—deposed and assassinated 1[illegible]

1719 Rafi-u-Dirjat died in three months.

1719 Rafi-oo-dowla died in a month or so.

1719 Mahomed Shah died in 1748.

1748 Ahmed Shah deposed and blinded 1754.

1754 Alumgire II. murdered by Ghasi-oodeen, 1759.

1759 Shah Alum.

Akber Shah.

Bahadur Shah. The Mutiny of 1857 saw the end of the Timour Dynasty.

Summary.

Sovereigns before the Khilji Dynasty	11
Sovereigns of the Khilji Dynasty	[illegible]
Ditto ditto Toogluck do.	10
Dowlut Khan Lodi	1
Rulers of the Family of the Seiads	4
Sovereigns of the House of Lodi	3
Ditto ditto Timour	2
Ditto ditto Sur	3
Ditto ditto Timour—after restoration	15
Total	52

Of the sovereigns of Delhi, 15 out of 52 met with violent deaths; of these 15, [illegible] [illegible]n 11 were murdered.

[F]rom A. D. 1206 to A. D. 1857 gives 651 years, in which period 52 sovereig[ns] [illegible] the throne of Delhi, giving an average reign to each of about 12 years, 6 [mont]hs and 6 days.

A. David & Co., General Printers, Meerut—1-9-70—500.